HOWARD KEYLOR

COMMUNIST TRADE UNION WORK IN THE ILWU

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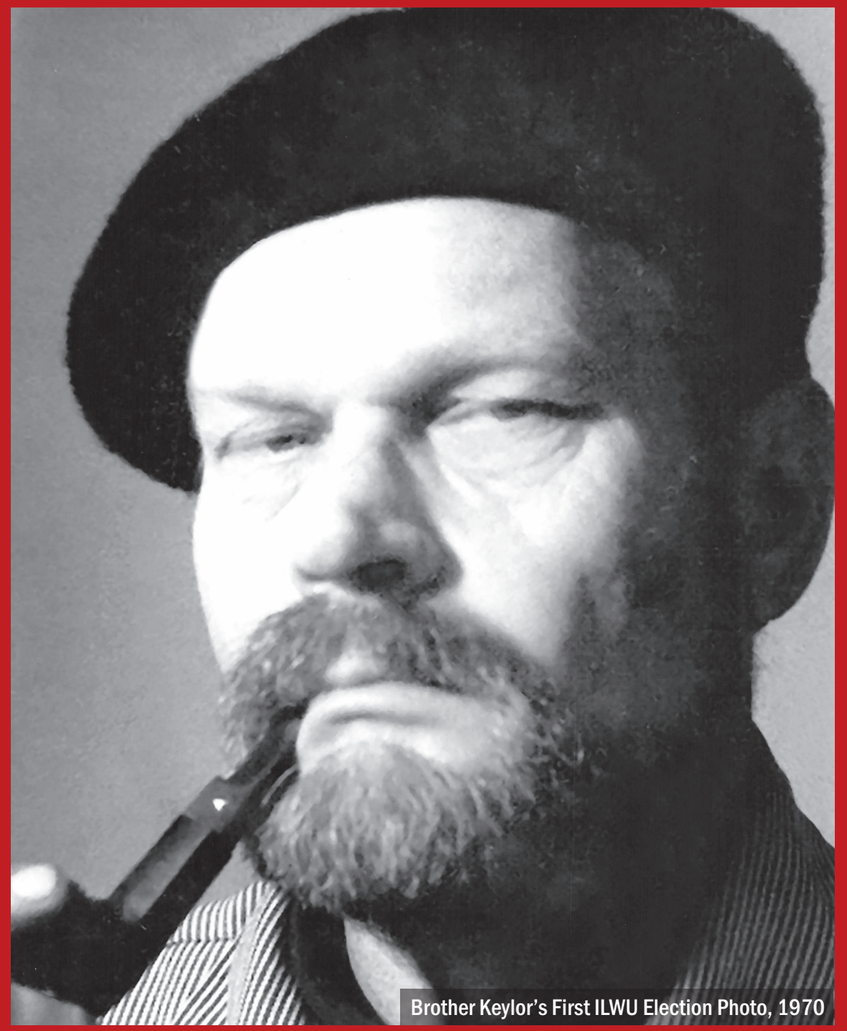

Brother Keylor's First ILWU Election Photo, 1970

HOWARD KEYLOR

COMMUNIST TRADE UNION WORK IN THE ILWU

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No. 10 (415) 562-3308 | Published by Howard Keylor PO Box 43092, Oakland, CA 94624-0092 | Oct. 12, 1984 Labor Donated

PROTEST ARMY OCCUPATION OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS AND KILLING OF OVER 80 BLACKS

At the September membership meeting I tried to raise a motion in support of black South African goldminers whose strikes for union recognition were being suppressed with at least eight miners killed by police. I intended to bring the same motion to the following Executive Board meeting, September 27, but - as often happens - there was no quorum, and the meeting was cancelled.

The situation in South Africa is now escalating. At least 80 blacks have been killed, and the South African army is being openly mobilized to occupy the black townships. I urge brothers to support my efforts to put the following updated motion on the floor at next Thursday's membership meeting.

MOTION: Local 10 protests the killing of eight black South African goldminers who were recently on strike for union recognition. We protest the killing of over 80 blacks during the current mass protests against the phony elections which exclude blacks. We further protest the mobilization of the South African army to occupy black townships.

In order to dramatically express our solidarity with the mass rebellion of South African blacks we will not work the next Nedlloyd Line ship carrying South African cargo to the Bay Area. We appeal to the rest of the coast to join us in this action, as they did in our successful 1977 boycott of a Nedlloyd Line ship.

UPDATE:

Local 10 Executive Board unanimously passed this motion Thursday night, October 11.
Come to the membership meeting Thursday, October 18, and vote for final approval of the motion!

Militant Longshoreman Program

1. DEFEND OUR JOBS AND LIVELIHOOD—Six hour shift, no extensions, at eight hours pay. Manning scales on all ship operations, one man—one job. Weekly PGP. Full no-cap C.O.L.A. on wages. Joint maritime union action against non-union barge, shipping and longshore operations. No ghost riders or witnesses. No long-term contracts.

2. DEFEND THE HIRING HALL—Use regular gangs on container ships; no dispatch of ‘‘unit gangs.’’ Call all 9.43 men back to the hall. Stop-work action to defend the hiring hall and older and disabled men.

3. DEFEND UNION CONDITIONS AND SAFETY THROUGH JOB ACTION—Stop PMA chiseling on the contract. Eliminate ‘‘work as directed,’’ ‘‘no illegal work stoppage,’’ and arbitration sections from the contract. Mobilize to smash anti-labor injunctions. No employer drug or alcohol screening.

4. DEFEND OUR UNION—No Class B or C longshoremen. Register directly to Class A. Keep racist, anti-labor government and courts out of the union and BALMA. Support unions’ resistance against court suits and government ‘‘investigations.’’ Union action to break down racial and sexual discrimination and employer favoritism on the waterfront. Organize for a coastwide strike to get what we need—no concessions—no give-backs.

5. BUILD LABOR SOLIDARITY—against government/employer strikebreaking. No more defeated PATCO or HORMEL strikes. Honor all class-struggle picket lines—remove phony, racist, anti-working class picket lines. Don’t handle struck or diverted cargo. No raiding of other unions. Organize the disorganized, and the unemployed. Defend IBU-ILWU (INLAND BOATMEN) against Crowley union busting.

6. STOP NAZI/KLAN TERROR through union-organized labor/black/latino defense actions. No dependence on capitalist police or courts to smash fascists.

7. WORKING CLASS ACTION TO STOP REAGAN’S WAR-DRIVE—Labor strikes to oppose U.S. military actions against Cuba, Nicaragua or Salvadoran leftist insurgents. Boycott military cargo to Central America. Build labor action to smash the apartheid injunction.

8. INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY—oppose protectionist trade restrictions—for a massive trade-union program of aid to help non-U.S. workers build unions and fight super-exploitation by the multinational corporations—Defend undocumented workers with union strike action.

9. BREAK WITH THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES—Start now to build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without payment to the capitalists and establish a planned economy to end exploitation, racism, poverty and war.

Published: 1917 No.4 (Autumn 1987)

Introduction

> *"The bottom line is that you can't build a pro-socialist wing in the unions by hiding your politics – that's always a sign of adaptation to the present backwardness of the class. You've got to be upfront about what you stand for and try to apply your program in a creative way to address the concrete questions which arise. To pick out a few of the demands of the Transitional Program that might be more popular at a given moment, and just run on them, in effect destroys the whole purpose of the program – which is to connect the immediate, felt needs of the workers to the necessity of a political struggle for power."*
>
> - Howard Keylor, July 19, 1987
> (interview included in this booklet)

This booklet was produced for Howard Keylor's memorial on January 25, 2025. It collects, in one place, the available issues we still have of the *Longshore Militant,* from 1974 to 1981, and *Militant Longshoreman,* from 1981 to 1987. Together, these newsletters document one of the high points of Howard's political career: the period when, in ILWU Local 10, along with the Militant Caucus (which he helped found) and later with the Bolshevik Tendency (which he also helped found), Howard struggled against the leadership of his own union, winning election to Local 10's Executive Board for twelve straight years, while campaigning openly on the Transitional Program of Leon Trotsky.

Near the end of this time, Howard organized three major actions, two of which he had initiated. The 1983 Levin Terminals strike, in Richmond, involved at least a thousand workers and was the most powerful mobilization on the waterfront in decades. The 11-day 1984 anti-Apartheid boycott of South African cargo aboard the *Nedlloyd Kemberley* was the longest political strike on the West Coast in living memory. Finally, in 1986, Howard worked with the Campaign Against Apartheid, a Berkeley-based student group, to set up a community picket line against South African cargo on the *Nedlloyd Kembla.*

The Militant Caucus in the ILWU was a class-struggle, rank and file grouping supported by the Spartacist League (SL). It based its work on the Transitional Program and on the work of the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) of the Workers (Communist) Party in its earlier period. Unlike the trade union work of other ostensibly Marxist organizations, the Militant Caucus was not structured as a Communist "fraction", nor was party membership required to participate in the Caucus. Rather, rank-and-file ILWU members could join the Caucus if they agreed with the Caucus program, which in turn was based on the full Transitional Program. The Caucus had its own dues structure and its own discipline, and members were free

to express their opinion on issues which were not a Caucus decision.

An example of this program, the "Militant Longshoreman Program", is reproduced immediately prior to this Introduction. Among other things, the program calls for deliberate defiance of the "slave-labor" Taft-Hartley law through illegal secondary boycotts and mass pickets; 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay (the sliding scale of wages and hours); breaking with the Democratic and Republican Parties; forming a workers' party to fight for a workers' government; expropriating the capitalists without compensation, and creating a planned economy. These demands are organically interconnected, as Howard would have put it, with elementary demands on full union democracy (no Class B or C longshoremen; no 9.43 "steady men") and defensive demands on wages and working conditions.

The Caucus program was not a laundry list or shopping list of supposed "transitional demands", and Howard was very critical of groups who tried to use the Transitional Program as a checklist. Howard's art lay in his understanding of mixed consciousness, and his uncanny ability, honed through decades of practice, to intersect his fellow workers with the right demands, at the right time.

In the ILWU, the Militant Caucus was involved in organizing protests and boycotts of military cargo bound for the bloody Chilean junta in 1974 and 1978 and a picket of a ship carrying South African cargo in 1977. In 1975, the Caucus spearheaded mass picketing during ILWU Local 6's strike at KNC Glass in Union City, during which picketers defied a court injunction, physically defeated police and scabs and won a contract for a workforce composed primarily of undocumented Mexican immigrants.

Later, when the SL and the Caucus politically degenerated, Howard resigned from the Spartacist League and the Caucus and published his own newsletter, the "Militant Longshoreman", which was aligned with the Bolshevik Tendency. During this period, in June 1983, Howard put forward a motion to the Executive Board of Local 10 to shut down a scab operation at Levin Terminals in Richmond, California, with "illegal" mass pickets. The resulting mass picket, of at least 1,000 workers, was the most powerful mobilization seen on the waterfront for decades. It ran off the scabs and won an important defensive victory which preserved ILWU jurisdiction over the facility.

Howard credited more than a decade of patient work in the Militant Caucus with the success of the 1983 Richmond strike. A copy of his report on the strike, "Three Days in June", is included in this booklet.

The next year, in 1984, Howard made the motion in Local 10 which led to the eleven-day longshore boycott of South African cargo on the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. Howard presented his original motion to boycott the next ship carrying South African cargo to Local 10's Executive Board, where it passed unanimously. The motion, as amended by Leo Robinson, to target only the South African cargo, was passed with a

near-unanimous vote by the membership. With the help of Local 34 clerk Gene Weissberger, the containers from South Africa were identified for the boycott.

The publicity, organization and logistics of the 1984 action were handled by a united-front rank-and-file committee of Local 10 members, which was expanded during the course of the strike to include several non-Local 10 members. The politics represented in this body ranged from Brother Keylor's class-struggle program to black nationalism and Communist Party-style reformism. Many on the committee supported liberal divestment schemes. Some advocated protectionism. Many posed the action not in terms of proletarian class solidarity, as Howard did, but rather in terms of individual conscience. Nonetheless, despite the differences, the basis of unity was a commitment to "hot-cargoing" the South African goods aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*.

At a public forum organized by the External Tendency of the International Spartacist Tendency (the forerunner of the Bolshevik Tendency) in Berkeley on December 1, 1984, at the height of the action, Howard gave a perceptive assessment of the united front:

> "*The very effort to get the boycott approved by the overwhelming, almost unanimous, membership of the longshoremen in this port was a united-front movement from the beginning where those of us who spoke on it and pushed it to some degree compromised on what we thought perhaps were better tactics or different tactics in order to get something that we knew that we had a chance of implementing. And the implementation of it, the rank-and-file committee, is a united front…That united front extends over to the officers [of Local 10] who we're able to hold from gross betrayal…and be quiet while we do the best we can.*
>
> *So you have a series of overlapping united fronts so to speak, united fronts within united fronts, and then of course, it goes to the outside as you saw today. Pacifists, Democrats, ostensibly revolutionary organizations, peaceniks and what have you. It's o.k. So you maintain the momentum of an action like this; maintain the morale of the workers and you maintain the united front.*
>
> *Sure, united fronts split, and this one's going to split too. As soon as the injunction comes down, probably Monday…we'll start seeing this series of overlapping united fronts splitting. You'll see probably first the Democrats fading away. You'll most certainly see many of the ostensibly revolutionary organizations fading away in this period . . . So the united front will split.*
>
> *Quite possibly even the rank-and-file committee that's carrying it out will split. But we're going to carry this action as far as we can and come what may, it's a historic action when a group of workers carry out a political strike in this country."*

On Monday, December 3, 1984, the split that Howard anticipated took place. The employers obtained a federal injunction that restrained the union, Howard and Leo Robinson personally. The officers of the local proposed a motion to capitulate. When a motion to openly defy the injunction, put forward by Spartacist League supporter Stan Gow and seconded by Howard, was ruled out of order, Howard put up another motion to call a special stop-work mass membership meeting at Pier 80 to decide how to respond to the injunction. This too was ruled out of order and the motion to scuttle the boycott passed with Brothers Keylor, Gow and three others opposed. At this point the rank-and-file committee also split, as Howard had predicted. A majority of the committee, including Leo Robinson, went along with the Executive Board's capitulation. Larry Wright, of the Liberation Support Movement (LSM), sided with Howard during the split and would go on to support Howard as he defied the injunction the next day.

Defying the vote, Howard issued a call to set up a picket line at Pier 80 on Tuesday, December 4:

> "*There was a court order and an injunction yesterday to supply men to work this ship. The executive board of the union voted last night eleven to five to comply with the court order. Longshoremen were told this morning that we had to work the ship. I personally am not going to work this cargo. I've encouraged my brother longshoremen not to work it, and I encourage you to put up a picket line. With a picket line I don't think the ship will work.*
>
> *In the court order I was named as one of the co-conspirators. That doesn't make any difference. If there is a picket line here, I'm going to be on it. I would encourage you to set up a picket line over here at the gate, now!"*

Howard appeared at the longshore hall at 6:00 a.m. on December 4th, where he stood on a table in the hall, forming a *de facto* united front with the Spartacist League, Larry Wright, Jack Heyman and a number of other supporters. Howard addressed the longshoremen and called on them to defy the cops. He then went down to Pier 80 where he organized supporters of the boycott into a militant picket line. This picket (which soon grew to a couple of hundred) succeeded in stopping traffic in and out of the pier for an hour. The tactic of militant picketing was opposed by the Communist Party, which wanted to turn the picket into an impotent protest demonstration, and the Spartacist League, which refused to join the line. The picket line was ultimately broken by the San Francisco cops, who made a couple of arrests while Communist Party supporters shoved militants aside and waved traffic in and out.

The boycott had been defeated. But for eleven days the South African cargo had been stopped cold. The 1984 boycott remains the longest political strike on the West Coast in living memory.

In 1986, Howard participated in the Campaign Against Apartheid's (CAA's) community picket line against the *Nedlloyd Kembla*. The CAA, a Berkeley-based

community group, called for the blockade to prevent the unloading of the *Nedlloyd Kembla's* South African cargo. When Local 10 refused to support the CAA action, Howard, along with the Bolshevik Tendency, joined with the CAA in a principled united front. Members of at least 14 different unions, along with members and supporters of half a dozen left groups and a variety of community organizations, helped seal off the entrance to Pier 80 in San Francisco.

About 150 people participated in the community picket line on the first day, which physically fought off the cops, resulting in two picketers being injured and two arrested. Setting a pattern followed by many "community pickets" at the docks in the years to come, management acknowledged that a "health and safety" issue existed, which brought into play a section in the longshore contract which allowed longshoremen to honor the picket line, on the basis that they were endangered by the picket. On the second day of the community picket, riot cops lined up in ranks and broke up the picket lines of about 200 prior to the start of the work shift. Four longshoremen, out of about 25 who were dispatched, refused to work the South African cargo despite the picket lines being broken up, and were fired for their refusal.

When Nelson Mandela spoke at the Oakland Coliseum in 1990 after his release from prison, he credited Local 10 with re-igniting the anti-Apartheid movement.

> "*We salute members of the International Longshoreman's and Warehouseman's Union, Local 10, who refused to unload a South African cargo ship in 1984. In response to this demonstration, other workers, church people, community activists, and educators gathered each day at the docks to express their solidarity with the dockworkers. They established themselves as the frontline of the anti-Apartheid movement in the Bay Area."*
>
> - Nelson Mandela, June 30, 1990

Other actions which Howard organized or participated in include the huge march supporting the White Night rebellion in 1979, during which the Castro demonstrated its outrage at the token sentence given to the man who had murdered Harvey Milk and George Moscone by battling the police and torching 29 police cars; organizing a defense guard for the Oakland bookstore of the Socialist Workers' Party in 1985, which fought off several hundred ex-ARVN Vietnamese soldiers; the 1995-98 struggle of the Liverpool dockworkers; the 1999 coastwide shutdown and march of 25,000 in San Francisco to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal; the 2000 Charleston longshore union campaign; the 2008 May Day anti-imperialist war shutdown of all West Coast ports; the shutdown of Northern California ports in protest of the murder of Oscar Grant; the blockades of Israeli ships to protest the wars on Gaza in 2010 and 2014; the 2011 ILWU struggle against the grain monopolies in Longview; Occupy Oakland's march of 40,000 to the Port of Oakland, and countless other militant job actions and protests.

Throughout his life, Howard always extended solidarity where it was needed.

He was a revolutionary communist who fought racist police murders and fascist terror, defended abortion clinics, and fought for survivors of psychiatric abuse. Having grown up in Appalachia, he has always been an environmentalist, and helped shut down a Monsanto facility in Davis in 2012, as well as fighting pesticide use and deforestation in the East Bay. Perhaps most importantly, however, Howard upheld the Ten Guiding Principles of the ILWU. They teach that workers should never cross or work behind a picket line, even if directed to do so by their union leadership. *"Every picket line must be respected as if it were our own."*

The documents collected in this booklet represent the day to day political struggles of a generation of militants who fought to rebuild something which had not existed in the United States since the mid-1940s: a communist pole of opposition, in the American unions, against the class collaborationist union bureaucracy. From union and industry-specific demands, the Militant Caucus, and later the Bolshevik Tendency, sought to link these essentially defensive demands to the question of the capitalist state by calling for illegal secondary boycotts, international solidarity, opposition to imperialist wars, defiance of the contract and of court injunctions, and further on to displacing the class collaborationist union leadership, forming a workers party and a workers government, and establishing a planned economy.

The importance of organizing on the Transitional Program – of openly linking bread and butter demands to the struggle for power - is shown by the later history of South Africa itself. In South Africa, the failure to organize the working class to fight for a workers government resulted in the formation of a bourgeois government (popular front) under the Tripartite Alliance of the African National Congress (ANC), COSATU and the South African Communist Party in 1994. This failure resulted in the immiseration of the South African working class, and a straight line connects that failure to the Marikana Massacre eighteen years later, in 2012, when 34 striking miners were gunned down by the police of this "post-apartheid" government. One of the leaders of the ANC in 1994, Cyril Ramaphosa, went from Secretary General of the National Union of Miners to a position on the board of the corporation that owned the mine where the Marikana Massacre took place. Ramaphosa subsequently became the President of South Africa in 2018.

It is our hope that the class-struggle approach to trade union organizing documented in this booklet, to which Howard's life was dedicated, will serve as an inspiration and guide to coming generations of militants who seek, as Lenin put it, the "revolutionary edge" of the theory first expounded by Marx and Engels: that the historical crisis of humanity is the crisis of the revolutionary leadership, and that the working class must organize to seize, and consolidate, power in its own hands.

Richard Tan

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A CELEBRATION OF THE LIFE OF HOWARD KEYLOR

Longtime "Militant Longshoreman" and political activist Howard Keylor passed away in October 2024, two months before his 99th birthday. His friends, family and comrades invite you to attend a memorial meeting and educational in his honor on:

January 25, 2025, 1:00 – 4:00 p.m.
Local 10, International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU)
Henry Schmidt Room
400 North Point Street, San Francisco (near Fisherman's Wharf)

Light Refreshments Will Be Provided

A veteran of the Battle of Okinawa - an experience that led him to become an anti-militarist, anti-racist and anti-imperialist revolutionary socialist - Howard opposed the atomic bombing of Japan. He quit college to support Filipino agricultural workers in the 1948 asparagus strike and became a labor organizer and activist during the McCarthy period, joining the longshore union in Stockton in 1953.

Like the core founders of the ILWU, Howard fought to replace capitalism with socialism. During his decades on the waterfront, including twelve years on the Local 10 Executive Board, he initiated, organized and participated in countless picket lines and protests, most notably the historic 11-day strike in 1984 against unloading a South African container ship, the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, and the 1986 community picket of South African cargo in support of the anti-Apartheid movement. (*See the back of this flyer for other actions Howard participated in or organized.*)

Please Join Local 10 and Howard's Friends, Family and Comrades in a Celebration of Howard's Life and Work.

Howard Keylor

Born in rural Ohio, Howard Keylor attended a one-room country schoolhouse. He became a member of the National Honor Society when he graduated from Marietta High School.

After enlisting in the U.S. Army, Howard fought in the Pacific Theater in World War Two, during which he participated in the Battle of Okinawa as a Corporal. The 96th U.S. Army Division, which Howard trained with, had casualty rates above 50%. The incompetence and racism of the military command, the destruction of the capital city of Naha and the deliberate killings of tens of thousands of Okinawan civilians —a third of the population — made Howard a committed revolutionary communist, anti-imperialist, anti-militarist and anti-racist for the rest of his life.

Upon completing his military service, Howard enrolled in the College of the Pacific, but dropped out to support Filipino agricultural workers in the 1948 asparagus strike. During that strike, Howard began his lifelong association with labor leaders Ernesto Mangoang, Chris Mensalves and Larry Itliong. He became a longshore worker in Stockton in 1953. As members of the Communist Party, Howard and his wife, Evangeline, were attacked in the HUAC (McCarthy) hearings in San Francisco. Later, Howard transferred to ILWU Local 10. In 1971 he, along with Brothers Herb Mills, Leo Robinson and a majority of ILWU longshore workers, opposed the proposed 1971 contract which codified the 9.43 steadyman system. This led to the longshore strike of 1971-1972, which shut down 56 West Coast ports and lasted 130 days. It was the longest strike in the ILWU's history.

In Local 10 Brother Keylor was a founding member of the Militant Caucus, a class struggle rank-and-file opposition grouping supported by the Spartacist League (SL), which based its work on Trotsky's "Transitional Program" and published a regular newsletter, the "Longshore Militant". The Militant Caucus was involved in organizing protests and boycotts of military cargo bound for the bloody Chilean junta in 1974 and 1978, and a picket of a ship carrying South African cargo in 1977. In 1975, the Caucus spearheaded mass picketing during ILWU Local 6's strike at KNC Glass in Union City, during which picketers physically defeated police and scabs and won a contract for a workforce composed primarily of undocumented Mexican immigrants. Later, when the SL and the Caucus politically degenerated, Howard left the Spartacist League and the Caucus and published his own newsletter, the "Militant Longshoreman", which was aligned with the Bolshevik Tendency.

Brother Keylor advocated deliberate defiance of the "slave-labor" Taft-Hartley law through illegal secondary boycotts and mass pickets. Running openly on the Transitional Program, calling for 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, breaking with the Democratic and Republican Parties, forming a worker's party to fight for a worker's government, expropriating the capitalists without compensation and creating a planned economy, Howard won election to the Executive Board of Local 10 for twelve years.

In 1984, Brother Keylor made the motion, amended by Brother Leo Robinson, which led to the eleven-day longshore boycott of South African cargo on the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. Howard presented the motion to Local 10's Executive Board, where it passed unanimously. In 1986, Howard participated in the Campaign Against Apartheid's community picket line against the *Nedlloyd Kembla*. When Nelson Mandela spoke at the Oakland Coliseum in 1990 after his release from prison, he credited Local 10 with re-igniting the anti-Apartheid movement in the Bay Area.

Other actions that Brother Keylor initiated, organized or participated in included the successful mass picket by 1,000 union members which ran scabs off the docks at Levin Terminals in Richmond, in 1983; organizing a defense guard for the Oakland bookstore of the Socialist Workers' Party in 1985, which fought off several hundred ex-ARVN Vietnamese soldiers; the 1995-98 struggle of the Liverpool dockworkers; the 1999 coastwide shutdown and march of 25,000 in San Francisco to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal; the 2000 Charleston longshore union campaign; the 2008 May Day anti-imperialist war shutdown of all West Coast ports; the shutdown of Northern California ports in protest of the murder of Oscar Grant; the blockades of Israeli ships to protest the war on Gaza in 2010 and 2014; the 2011 ILWU struggle against the grain monopolies in Longview; Occupy Oakland's march of 40,000 to the Port of Oakland, and countless other militant job actions and protests. Throughout his life, Brother Keylor always extended solidarity where it was needed. He was a revolutionary communist who fought racist police murders and fascist terror, defended abortion clinics, and fought for survivors of psychiatric abuse. Having grown up in Appalachia, he has always been an environmentalist, and helped shut down a Monsanto facility in Davis in 2012, as well as fighting pesticide use and deforestation in the East Bay.

Perhaps most importantly, Howard stood by and upheld the Ten Guiding Principles of the ILWU. They teach that workers should never cross or work behind a picket line, even if directed to do so by their union leadership. **"Every picket line must be respected as though it were our own."**

Solidarity and Condolence Messages

From: Abu-Jamal, Mumia

Date Received: 11/12/2024 08:56 AM CST

Subject: RE: Howard Keylor - Another Elder Warrior Gone

Dear Jack; Greetings!

These greetings are tinged with sorrow for the passing of Howard Keylor, an intrepid revolutionary and trade unionist who never saw (or heard of) a struggle that he didn't support, with his will, his strength, his fists and his great heart. I salute him as a comrade and a brother. He breathed Life into freedom and liberation movements the world over, from the apartheid state in South Africa to the apartheid state (Israel) that now bombs Palestinian life and lands -- while plotting to steal more lands! He is remembered with respect and honor.

alla best, s/Mumia

Howard Keylor : A life of service to all those who struggle for a better life for working people .

It has come to my attention , through my great mate and comrade , Jack Heyman that Howard Keylor has sadly passed away.

Revolutionaries such as fellow worker Keylor pass our way only rarely but leave a mark on our lives that time will never erase.

Howard chose the difficult road of unflinching principles on all issues in the working class movement. Whether it was fighting for a better life for Longshore Workers , initiating world wide solidarity against the apartheid state of South Africa or denouncing Stalinism , Comrade Howard Keylor was front and centre , in demonstrations and on the picket line.

As the fine comrades assembled celebrate Howard's wonderful life , I think of Howard through some Australian Working Class Poetry from the great shearer's strikes of the 1890's . Part of which goes

Wherever the march of oppression
May reduce a land to despair
No how mighty the victor
The flag of rebellion is there

Howard Keylor truly lived the rebel's life.
To Howard's family , friends and fellow workers , Howard may not be with us physically but wherever working people fight for something better Howard Keylor's spirit will be there.

Bob Carnegie
Working Class Militant ,
Former Maritime Union of Australia, Queensland, Branch Secretary

The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) sends its deepest condolences to our allies the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10, on the passing of comrade Howard Keylor, may his soul rest in peace.

Comrade Howard was a long time Bay Area Political activist and retired San Francisco longshore militant. He is *one of the founding members of the Bolshevik Tendency (BT) w*ith a conviction in the power of the working class to change the world. As a longtime member of ILWU Local 10, he organized and worked in a rank-and-file caucus with the goal of establishing a class struggle leadership.

With his passion for social justice, he put forward the resolution passed in 1984 to strike the next ship to arrive in the port of San Francisco from apartheid South Africa. Calling such cargo "hot cargo, too hot to handle." Workers refused to unload goods shipped from South Africa, this was a boycott action lasting 11 days at the San Francisco pier. NUMSA continues to be inspired by ILWU as a union, as well as its leadership for continuing to pursue class struggle as the only guarantee for fundamental change and its commitment to international solidarity as a critical pillar of the struggle for socialism. As NUMSA leadership that is privileged to lead our union, we salute his revolutionary contribution and his generation of leadership. Indeed, we lower our banners for this stalwart of the revolution that stood for justice right till the end.

We send our deep sincere heart felt message of condolence to the Keylor family, ILWU Local 10 and all workers around the world who have been inspired by his life. We will always draw inspiration from this leader of class struggle in mobilising and advancing revolutionary Trade Unionism and international solidarity with the poor and oppressed throughout the world.

Issues by
NUMSA General Secretary
Irvin Jim
24 October 2024

National Railway Motive Power Union of Chiba
Doro-Chiba

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http://www.doro-chiba.org/english/english.htm

Deepest condolences on the passing of Comrade Howard Keylor.

We, Doro-Chiba and International Labor Solidarity Committee of Doro-Chiba, send our heartfelt condolences on the passing of Comrade Howard Keylor.

We first met him in July 2003 at a rally organized by ILWU Local 10 under the banner: "War at Home, War Abroad."
At the social gathering after that, he proudly said, "Seattle dockworkers temporarily stopped the export of weapons, which was aimed at crushing the Russian Revolution, and as a result, those weapons went into the hands of the Red Army. We fought against the Chilean coup d'état regime and apartheid in South Africa by stopping the loading and unloading of cargoes."

Comrade Howard Keylor tenaciously appealed to workers throughout the United States and the world for the restoration of the class-struggle labor movement that confronts poverty, discrimination, oppression, and war.
In 2008, he helped the ILWU's organizing efforts of May Day shutdown of all West Coast ports in protest against the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

US, European and Japanese imperialism are intensifying their wars of aggression in Ukraine and the Middle East. In East Asia they are building a war posture; China is in their crosshairs. It is a rush toward World War III—a nuclear war.
The time has come for the international solidarity and class unity of workers to be tested definitely. We will cherish the precious conversations and interactions we had with Comrade Howard Keylor in our hearts, and together with ILWU Local 10 and all the ILWU members, we are determined to carry on his will and fight to the end.

Rest in peace, Comrade Howard Keylor.

16 December, 2024

Michitoshi Seki
President of National Railway Motive Power Union of Chiba (Doro-Chiba)
Hiroyuki Yamamoto
General Secretary of International Labor Solidarity Committee of Doro-Chiba

THE LIVERPOOL DOCKWORKERS/INITIATIVE FACTORY

29 HOPE STREET,
LIVERPOOL,
MERSEYSIDE L1 9BQ.

TEL: 0151 709 2148.
FAX: 0151 709 5596.

e-mail: dockers@gn.apc.org web site: https://thecasa.org.uk/

28th October 2024.

To/ The Family and Friends of Howard Keylor.

Letter by Email. bpalmer@trentu.ca
jackheyman@comcast.net

Condolences on the Passing of Howard Keylor .

On behalf of the Sacked Liverpool Dockworkers and all at the CASA, can I pass on our sincere condolences on the sad loss of Howard Keylor.

Howard was a giant in the fight for workers rights and social and political justice. He was personally involved in all the big political battles of 20thcentury, including supporting the workers in Chile during the Pinochet Dictatorship and the people of South Africa during the Apartheid Years.

He will always be remembered by the Liverpool Dockworkers and their families for the support he gave us during our 28 month dispute 1995-1998. He attended the first international conference in Liverpool Town Hall in February 1996, and helped create an international solidarity movement for Dockworkers the world over.

To us, Howard was our friend and comrade and although he has now passed on his legacy will live on forever.

Yours in Solidarity,

Terry Teague. (Secretary)

Freedom Socialist Party condolences on the passing of Howard Keylor

We fondly and appreciatively remember collaborating with Howard for many decades in various workers' struggles. From the Million Worker March to port shutdowns to anti-fascist work, we were proud to get in the trenches with him and to witness his principled, courageous fighting of the good fight. Always oriented to the working class, he stayed true to Marxist, proletarian, revolutionary perspective, in the face of the pressure from the bosses and bureaucrats, and on the job and in the streets. He had faith that the only way for us to win anything – from a basic reform to our complete liberation – was for the oppressed to organize in our own name and to join together and create a new world!

To hear Howard speak in a coalition meeting or at a protest was to know it was possible to stand tall, promoting revolution right here in the belly of the beast, the United States. His passion, humor and fire inspired others to stand up and be counted as well. And his passion was for workers *everywhere.* A true internationalist who defended Mumia Abu Jamal and opposed apartheid, he knew that an injury to one was an injury to all!

I first recall meeting Howard when I became a union apprentice. His eyes would always light up when I shared the latest scrape I got into as a woman determined to make it in the trades. He always had a firm handshake, a smile, and a word of encouragement, and he truly delighted in hearing any time people were raising hell against the bosses!

His passing creates quite a pair of shoes to fill. It is only fitting that all who knew Howard, or of his admirable life, now carry our own passion, humor and fire with us where ever we go, to stand up and be counted, to resist the tricks and abuses by powers that be, and to hold each other up as we carry on the fight to create a much better world and a much fairer economic system! Until the triumph of a genuinely socialist revolution, the FSP proudly carries on this fight and keeps Howard's life and lessons close at hand.

Howard Keylor, ¡presente!

In solidarity,

Amy Gray-Schlink
Freedom Socialist Party—Bay Area
747 Polk St., San Francisco, CA 94109
415.864.1278 ▪ www.socialism.com ▪ bayareafsp@socialism.com

January 10, 2025

The Coalition to Defend East Bay Forests extends our heartfelt condolences to the community gathering in celebration of the life of Howard Keylor.

We are grateful for Howard's help in founding our coalition in 2015, and our ongoing collective work to stop pesticide use and the deforestation of the East Bay hills.

We appreciate his support and sharing of his perspective of growing up in Appalachia and his decades of activism at our monthly organizing meetings, as well as joining us in attending the public hearings of the agencies involved in the toxic assault on our local forests, and his consistent participation in our protests and outreach campaigns to alert the community of the destruction in the hills.

We especially value his willingness to take direct action, when he told us that he would be prepared to put his body between the chainsaws and the trees. We hope that his courage will serve as an example to all of our allies whenever such action becomes necessary. Howard will be sorely missed by all of us.

With much solidarity, and for the trees!

The Coalition to Defend East Bay Forests

NO CLEAR CUTS NO PESTICIDES
DEFEND EAST BAY FORESTS

Coalition to Defend East Bay Forests

DefendEastBayForests.wordpress.com
DefendEastBayForests@riseup.net

EastBayPesticideAlert.org BeneficialBug@gmail.com

East Bay Pesticide Alert (EBPA) fondly remembers Howard Keylor, and sends our condolences and solidarity to his community.

Members of EBPA worked for decades to help people see the need to stop a pesticide-driven response to unwanted insects or vegetation. Howard was a supporter of our organization and understood the dangers of designating any one species as a pest, when the reality is our modern agriculture and ways of living are the problem, that healthy soil leads to ecological diversity and balance.

As someone who grew up in rural Appalachia in the early 20th century, and who had family members who worked in the fields, he came to understand the problems of mono-cropping and classifying other species as enemies. His time supporting striking agricultural workers contributed to the realization that political maneuvering and pesticide companies influencing politicians put in place policies that threaten the health of farm workers and surrounding communities.

He later came to recognize that this was not just an industrial issue, but was rampant throughout cityscapes as well. He had daughters and close friends who were disabled by chemical injuries.

EBPA first worked with Howard in 2008 to stop the Light Brown Apple Moth project, one of many statewide pesticide programs. We successfully mobilized to stop the pesticide applications, which had caused hundreds of confirmed injuries that were merely the tip of the iceberg of thousands more who were harmed, including extensive ecological damage and deaths of wildlife.

That work lead to organizing together to stop pesticide applications and the destruction of massive numbers of trees in the East Bay Hills a few years later. It was another example of Howard's holistic understanding of the danger of pinpointing one or two tree species as fire hazards, that often leads to a response of killing all the trees, and suddenly the shade that keeps grasses moist and the windbreaks that keep fire from spreading are gone, and there's more, not less, fire danger. Having grown up in nature he was alarmed to now witness deforestation under the guise of public safety, and was ready to take direct action to protect our local forests even into his 90s, a struggle that unfortunately has outlived him and continues.

Howard was not an armchair revolutionary. He took action when it was needed. A model for us all.

Long Live Howard's spirit of resistance!

Maxina Ventura
Chronic Effects Researcher
Founder, East Bay Pesticide Alert

January 9, 2025

Stop Smart Meters!

Fighting for health, privacy, and safety

January 10, 2025

We are saddened by the passing of our friend and ally Howard Keylor, and remember his contributions to the environmental health movement.

We particularly appreciated his participation in our most critical protests over the years: The International Day of Action to Stop Smart Meters in Oakland in 2012, Civil Disobedience at Michael Peevey's last day of presidency at the California Public Utilities Commission in 2014, the protest against former FCC Chair Tom Wheeler on his visit to Oakland that same year, and the 2016 rally at AT&T on Market Street in San Francisco to protest AB 2395, a bill in the California state legislature that would have allowed telephone companies to retire valuable, essential landline services.

Howard's consistent presence at anti-smart meter and pro-landline events and his support of sane technology protests has contributed significant gravitas to our movement. Those who have the choice of an analog meter from PG&E have him, and the many others who stood in the streets, to thank.

We also acknowledge and honor the many labor struggles he led and was involved with, and other actions he supported and participated in. We remain incredibly grateful for the perspective he brought to our movement, putting the current injustices suffered by utility customers into context of decades long repression and harm caused by large investor owned utilities.

The Stop Smart Meters! movement honors Howard and his unfailing commitment to social justice in general and specifically the rights of workers to unionize and the rights of people to be safe from disabling microwave harm and government surveillance. We thank him for his service to humanity and our movement in particular.

Josh Hart
Founder and Director

Toll Free Hotline: (888) 965-6435
E-mail: info@stopsmartmeters.org
PO Box 682 Portola, CA 96122

January 16, 2025

Dear Isis,

I am sending you my condolences upon Howard's passing. Unfortunately I cannot attend the memorial as I will be meeting with comrades doing our work so I offer you these few words.

From my experience the passing of parents is both painful and enlightening.

In politics we have a tendency to harden our hearts because we have chosen live lives of awareness of the pain, injustice and alienation of the world. We see and understand the brutality coming on the horizon and brace ourselves even as we warn others and prepare the fight back. But underneath the armor we are every bit human and open to all range of human experience. It is that humanity which drives us to action. In that experience Howard was a kindred spirit.

The first time I met Howard he sold me 1917 at an anti-war protest at the SF Civic Center. A few weeks later some time in 1985-6 he invited himself and a few other comrades (Uschi, Drew, Henry possibly) over to my apartment in an unsuccessful attempt to recruit me to the IBT.

Over the years he was always a presence in the movement and although our differences kept us in separate organizations he was always a comrade on the barricades a formidable and honest political opponent.

I will always remember him picketing at (I think it was Tre-Pac) smack in in front of a shipping terminal gate in the dark and chilly morning on a folding chair with only a few other militant picketers to advocate for ILWU members to stop loading an Israeli ship during the Cast Lead offensive. There was only a handful of militants there with him he was already in his 80's then.

You are fortunate to have been parented by a unique individual, a champion of working class and oppressed who offered so much of himself to his class and to the movement. He remains an inspiration to those who had the honor to walk the line with him.

Howard Keylor Presente!

With love and comradery

Charles Rachlis

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." IWW founding congress opening statement

Dear family and friends of Howard Keylor,

I was deeply saddened to learn of Howard's passing. Please accept my heartfelt condolences on the loss of such an extraordinary individual, whose life was a testament to unwavering courage, solidarity, and conviction.

I first met Howard in 2014 at the ILWU longshore union hall in San Francisco, introduced by our mutual friend, Jack Heyman. As a young filmmaker, I was there to film Cephus Johnson, the uncle of Oscar Grant, speaking on behalf of families impacted by police brutality. That day, I heard Howard speak for the first time about the ILWU's historic role in confronting state-sanctioned violence and championing justice. His words left an indelible mark on me. He spoke with unparalleled clarity about labor's role in the broader class struggle and the power of collective action.

Howard's legacy shone brightly again a year later when ILWU Local 10, under his influence, took the unprecedented step of halting work at Bay Area ports on International Workers Day to protest police killings. Their march from the Port of Oakland to Oakland City Hall in 2015 was a historic act of solidarity. Witnessing a union take such a bold stand against injustice was transformative for me.

In July of that same year, I had the honor of interviewing Howard on camera, thanks to his daughter Isis's kind assistance. Our conversation ranged across so many topics, each one illuminating his vast knowledge and unyielding belief in the power of the working class to create a more just world. Howard's insights bridged continents, connecting struggles in the United States with global movements for justice—including my own experience as the child of political exiles who resisted apartheid's oppressive Bantu Education system in Namibia. He helped me see how deeply intertwined our struggles are and how international solidarity is both a guiding principle and a vital force for change.

Though years and distance separated us, Howard and I stayed in touch. I'll always treasure the memory of joining his 95th birthday celebration over Zoom—a moment that reminded me of his enduring passion and wit. Howard's contributions to the fight for justice resonate far beyond the Bay Area. His life reminds us that the path of resistance is not only necessary but sacred. He has now joined the ancestors, becoming a celestial ally who will continue to guide and inspire us as we carry forward the torch he so fiercely held.

Farewell, dear comrade and friend. Your spirit lives on in every act of courage and every voice raised for justice.

In solidarity and with profound respect,

Kavena Hambira

Chairperson - Namibia Institute for Democracy (Former)

kavena.hambira@berkeley.edu
January 2025

Fwd: TWSC Presentation to Howard Keylor

The Transport Workers Solidarity Committee presents Howard Keylor (on his 87th birthday) with a commemorative banner of the Russian ship Aurora in recognition for his contribution to international working class struggles, especially in maritime. Keylor introduced the ILWU Local 10 anti-apartheid resolution in 1984 which initiated the longshore boycott in the port of San Francisco of the ship Nedlloyd Kimberley from South Africa. The historic protest solidarized with the black South African workers who were fighting brutal apartheid capitalism. Nelson Mandela credited the longshore union's action with sparking the anti-apartheid struggle in this country, part of a worldwide movement which eventually toppled the racist apartheid regime. Keylor continues actively defending workers struggles in South Africa like the Marikana miners' who were massacred in August in an attack by police of the ANC/SACP government at the behest of the mineowners.

Historical note*

The crew of the cruiser Aurora sided with the Russian revolution in February 1917. Because the overwhelming majority of the crew were Bolsheviks the Kerensky government ordered the ship to sea in October. The sailors defied Kerensky's orders and fired the shot which signaled the assault on the Winter Palace, the final conflict of the first successful workers revolution.

Steve Ongerth
Steve Ongerth <greensyndicalist@gmail.com>

Fri, Jan 17, 2025 • 12:15

Re: [SZAC] Howard Keylor - Memorial and Celebration of Life - January 25

Even when we disagreed on the finer points of revolutionary theory (Howard was a dyed in the wool communist, and me, a syndicalist), he was a true comrade, 100% solid in any workers' struggle, and a true working class hero.

His grit and determination rubbed off on all of us, particularly the first struggle I shared in with him (and others), the Neptune Jade pickets and ensuing defense campaign (in the wake of the bosses' attempts at repression) in 1997.

May his memory continue to inspire us all!

-Steve Ongerth

From: Jane <14friendsofpalestine@gmail.com>
Date: January 16, 2025 at 7:27:11 PM PST
To: Jack Heyman <jackheyman@comcast.net>

14 Friends of Palestine, Marin, would like to express our gratitude to Howard Keylor, who devoted his life to ending war and supporting marginalized and oppressed peoples, such as the Palestinians who have suffered so much at the hands of both Israel and the US war machine. We were honored to work with him on the Stop ZIM Action Committee in 2014. His leadership was, and still is, an inspiration to all of us working on equal rights for everyone. Thank you Howard Keylor for everything you packed into an amazing 99 years!

Jane Jewell,

14 Friends of Palestine, Marin

WESTERN
ILLINOIS
UNIVERSITY

November 16, 2018

Dear Howard:

I write to thank you for all of your efforts over many decades of activism, both on and off the waterfront. When our mutual friend, Jack Heyman, first introduced us about ten years ago, I had no idea how important you would become to me—as a source of knowledge, an inspiration, and a friend!

When we met, in Berkeley in 2011, I already had started researching the union to which you had dedicated more than half a century of your life, the ILWU! I had written a book on the radical longshoremen of Philadelphia in the World War I era—the Wobblies were so radical they united ranks across craft, ethnic, national, and racial lines to forge a strong union. Of course, employers and the state went after them for those very reasons. Fast forward to my next effort to understand the traditions and histories of dockworkers. What other union but ILWU Local 10 could possibly be of more interest to me, a labor historian who appreciates the potential power of (dock)workers? Over coffee and cigarettes, you schooled me in some of the hidden history of the docks in San Francisco, Oakland, and beyond. Thanks to your trust in me, as well as many others in the ILWU, I've written *Dockworker Power: Race and Activism in Durban and the San Francisco Bay Area* which will be published next month!

Along the way, your life experience, wide-ranging knowledge, and wisdom all came to shape me and my work. I have no idea how many times you could have made the easier choice and kept your mouth shut or stayed seated. However, rather than keeping quiet and tolerating injustices, great and small, time and again you stood up to call for equality and justice—be it a workplace grievance on a ship you worked or on behalf of people you never even had met. In particular, your involvement in the struggle against apartheid continues to impress. The idea that you—and others—proved willing to put their work on the line to help humans half a world away is the epitome of selflessness. I hope you'll be happy to know that your commitment has not gone unnoticed. You'll see as much in my book.

Along the way, I also came to see you as a trusted friend—much more than just a source for my book. I only hope that you feel the same. I particularly appreciate that you introduced me to your daughter, Isis, in the Bay Area and your wife, Uschi, when I visited Hamburg for the first time. That I knew you had lived in Hamburg was because you had shared some of many your stories with me. Would you believe that I have been known to "wow!" friends of mine with tales you've told me about: growing up in southeast Ohio, being in the Army during the Okinawa campaign in 1945, or your involvement in the long-forgotten ILWU strike of 1948. Obviously, your stories didn't stop there. I've appreciated and benefited from hearing about your time in Local 10 in the 1970s and 1980s.

Howard, I'm deeply sorry that you've suffered some health troubles in the aftermath of your stroke. I'm also sorry that I haven't had the chance to see you, of late, but I don't get to the Bay Area nearly as often as I'd like. However, I very much look forward to seeing you in March when I next return. On that visit, I'll have a signed copy of my book to present to you as a very small token of my deep appreciation and respect! Love and solidarity…

Peter Cole
Professor of History

Department of History
College of Arts and Sciences, Morgan Hall 438, 1 University Circle, Macomb, IL 61455-1390
Phone 309.298.1053 Fax 309.298.2540

FROM AN OLD LOCAL 10 LONGSHOREMAN

Hi Jack, I usually don't use the email, very much, so it was kind of shocking to see this news, sounds like he did pretty well in life. I remember him and Stan Gow, always trying to push one thing or the other through Local 10, much of it not related to exactly Local 10 but more on a coastwise or national level. We had politically active folks in those days, I think you were one of the last, now we have

Chris Christensen.

****

FROM A PUERTO RICAN TROTSKYIST

One of the last times I saw him and spent a lot of hours with him,was at Elazar Friedman's girlfriend apartment and we of course, talked politics and did trade stories. Even that he was very serious,when we talked,he would tell me something funny and made me laugh.

He just entered immortality and will be missed.

Rest in revolution,dear comrade Bolshevik.

Ricardo

****

ILA Local 273 St. John's, Canada

Our Sincere Condolences For A Life Well- Lived! Please know that our prayers are with Howard and his Family. Pat Riley

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FROM A MEMBER OF THE OCCUPY OAKLAND LABOR SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

Thank you for sharing his bio! I did not realize how much he had done. I feel honored to have shut down the ports with him and to have known him. <3

Emily Loftis

Class Struggle on the Waterfront: Communist Tactics in the Trade Unions

Interview with Howard Keylor, July 19, 1987
(originally published in 1917, No. 4)

Communist Tactics in the Trade Unions

Class Struggle on the Waterfront

On July 19 we interviewed Howard Keylor, a long-time trade-union militant on the waterfront in San Francisco. Brother Keylor is on the Executive Board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 (longshore division) and is the editor of *Militant Longshoreman*. Keylor's record of over three decades in the ILWU and his break from Stalinism to Trotskyism give him a unique perspective on the fight for a class-struggle leadership in the American labor movement.

In the 1970's, as a supporter of the then-revolutionary Spartacist League, Keylor played an important role in organizing several small but successful actions on the waterfront in defense of the victims of South African apartheid and the Chilean junta. In the last several years, in addition to playing a leading role in several waterfront strikes, Keylor initiated two larger and more important actions in solidarity with heroic black workers battling the racist Botha regime. These actions provided a concrete alternative to the liberal moralism prevalent in the campus-based anti-apartheid movement and provide a model of how a communist opposition in the unions should act as the tribune of the oppressed.

1917: Let's start with your history in the ILWU. How did you come into the union?

Keylor: The hard way. I started in 1953 as a casual. That means just picking up extra work by standing around in the dispatch office. It means no stable, registered or even recognized status. I was lucky enough to know a couple of older activists in the union—one of whom belonged to the CP, another was an old Wobblie—who were friends of mine and used a bit of influence and got me on a casual list. It wasn't until 1959 that I got recognized status in the ILWU.

1917: But you were a member of other unions before?

Keylor: Yes, as a matter of fact in 1953 I had been fired from the job I worked for two years in a paper mill. I belonged to the papermakers' local union. I was active in that union in a limited way.

1917: You were a supporter of the Stalinist Communist Party for over 25 years. How were you won to Trotskyism?

Keylor: I had always been something of a secret dissident, I guess you could have called me a left-Stalinist. I was quite unhappy most of the time during the McCarthy period with the Communist Party trying to hide what seemed its own limited, but at least formally revolutionary ideology. I was never too happy with the policy of primarily trying to form alliances with bourgeois or petty-bourgeois formations. I guess I was an unreconstructed Third Period Stalinist.

I had my own somewhat secret, actually very secret, theory about the Soviet Union as a workers state in which the bureaucracy had seized power from the working class and suppressed working class dissidents. I knew that was the case, but I'd never been able to generalize my political differences.

1917: So how did you come to Trotskyism? Did you read a book by Trotsky or did you meet people that called themselves Trotskyists?

Keylor: I never read anything by Trotsky or any of the main writings about Trotskyism or met a Trotskyist until the 1971-72 longshore strike when I came in contact with Asher Harer, a member of the union who was a well-known supporter of the Socialist Workers Party and is today with Socialist Action. I collaborated with him in writing a leaflet during the 143-day strike in 1971-72 and I wasn't too happy with the collaboration because, while some of what we were asking for programmatically seemed to make sense, he was very adamant on not criticizing the international union bureaucracy and their conduct in the strike. He was the only ostensible Trotskyist I had ever had any contact with.

It wasn't until about August 1974 that I ran into an old tattered copy of Deutscher's *The Prophet Armed* [the first volume of a three-part political biography of Trotsky]. I took it home; stayed up all night reading it and then went to a library the next day and got the rest of the trilogy, read it and walked around in a daze for a couple of weeks. It wasn't until I came in contact with the Spartacist League in the fall of 1974 that I began doing some consistent reading on Trotskyism and was won over painfully.

1917: You eventually became a supporter of the Spartacist League?

Keylor: Yes, I became a supporter of the Spartacist League, which as you know, at that time had a serious orientation to trade-union work—something which is no longer the case. Actually, initially I became a member of the SL-supported Longshore/Warehouse Militant Caucus, and in April of 1975 became an organized supporter of the Spartacist League.

1917: This is the thirteenth consecutive year you have been elected to the Executive Board of ILWU Local 10 on an openly socialist program. How have you managed to win a base for your politics in the union?

Keylor: There are really two separate questions. Getting elected to the Executive Board was initially rather difficult. There was a lot of competition for Executive Board posts in the earlier period. Having transferred from the small up-river port of Stockton to San Francisco in 1970, I was a relatively ''new boy'' on the block. Also, I was white and the San Francisco longshoremen were, and are still, about 70 percent black. Initially it was not easy to get elected and running on an explicitly socialist,

transitional program made it even more difficult.

By December 1974, when I first ran on this program as a member of the Militant Caucus, socialists had mostly been identified with the Communist Party in Local 10. The Communist Party had to a large extent been discredited because of their support to the international union's bureaucratic sellout of the workers interests. In the first period some of our support came from militants who thought we were uniquely honest in saying what we stood for, and because we were projecting a positive program and were not afraid to criticize all levels of the bureaucracy. That was rather unusual because almost all other figures, even minor ones in the Local at that time, were identified with either one of two main bureaucratic factions—the [ILWU President Harry] Bridges faction or the large, amorphous anti-Bridges faction.

We stood outside these formations and acted as a very small, hard left political pole, and nothing like that had been done for a long, long time. I particularly suffered some difficulty, because in moving toward an explicitly socialist program based on the Transitional Program, I had to break with the whole anti-Bridges bloc that I had worked with for almost four years—some of whom were my close friends.

1917: So in the union you ran on the Transitional Program. One of the criticisms which we often hear of this approach by groups like Workers Power in Britain is that raising a full socialist program amounts to ''ultimatism.'' Their idea is that demands like the call for workers defense guards or for a workers government are too advanced for the present consciousness of the class. How would you respond?

Keylor: I would respond that the failure to raise the whole Transitional Program as applied to the particular trade-union milieu or trade-union situation amounts to misleading the workers, because all points or aspects of that program sometime or other, sooner or later, relate to immediate questions facing the union. It is impossible to build a class-struggle opposition that can lead workers, even to defend themselves, without educating at least a section of the activist workers—the most advanced ones—about the social and political reality in which they are operating.

For example, in the mid to late fifties, the union started to get very deeply involved in Democratic Party politics in San Francisco. Actually earlier in Hawaii, the bulk of the union became intertwined with the Democratic Party to such an extent that the interests of the various coalitions they were backing ran directly counter to the interests of the workers. To oppose support to the Democrats you have to explain the class nature of the capitalist state, and that automatically raises the question of the workers government—just like any serious picket line situation poses in embryo the necessity for some kind of workers defense guards.

The bottom line is that you can't build a pro-socialist wing in the unions by hiding your politics—that's always a sign of adaptation to the present backwardness of the

class. You've got to be upfront about what you stand for and try to apply your program in a creative way to address the concrete questions which arise. To pick out a few of the demands of the Transitional Program that might be more popular at a given moment, and just run on them, in effect destroys the whole purpose of the program—which is to connect the immediate, felt needs of the workers to the necessity of a political struggle for power.

1917: From time to time there have been oppositional formations in the ILWU that ran on a program of ''more militancy'' and ''more democracy,'' similar to Ed Sadlowski in steel or Arnold Miller in the coal miners union, or the Teamsters for a Democratic Union [TDU]. Many leftists see these campaigns as a step forward because they oppose the incumbent bureaucrats. How do you look at such a lesser-evil approach to union work?

Keylor: It's not very practical. Even when they succeed in throwing out the existing bureaucrats the results are usually disastrous. Even assuming you've got honest, well-meaning elements leading these oppositional groups—and not just another gang of would-be bureaucrats—when they get into power, they find themselves up against the same opposition from the government, the same legalistic restrictions and the same nasty, brutal repression from the employers. And lacking an understanding—a political class understanding—of how to break out of those restrictions, those leaders will end up acting like Miller, Nixon's candidate in the mineworkers. They will become brutal bureaucrats themselves and suppress the rank-and-file.

In longshore there was a big, broad oppositional grouping to the Bridges leadership in the late sixties, based in part on new people who had come into the union. When Bridges finally retired, various elements of this opposition came into power, especially in the major longshore locals. They didn't do any better in defending the interests of the workers than the Bridges machine. The only real alternative is to pose class-struggle oppositional formations, which stand as a political alternative to all varieties of business unionism.

1917: What would distinguish such caucuses from formations like the TDU?

Keylor: They are distinguished primarily by their program. When they get elected in a given section of a union they are predictable in terms of what they will do. When oppositional groupings that are not programmatically based win leadership in a union, they usually don't remain intact. The only glue that holds them together is the fight for power. Once they get in, they quite frequently split or dissolve into their components, fighting over crumbs; or they become cynically co-opted into the bureaucratic system. The very best of such formations will simply degenerate into nickel-and-dime economism or social-democratic maneuverism. An opposition based on a coherent program of class struggle can win workers to a political understanding

and the necessity to fight for it. In learning to apply that program to all aspects of the union's life, as well as in the whole of society, they become committed to that program.

Individuals can betray or fall away but the betrayal will be quite conspicuous. One of the virtues of running on a clear class-struggle program is that the workers know where you stand on all major issues or can figure out which side you are going to come down on regarding the issues facing the union.

1917: When is it correct for Trotskyists in the unions to support other groups or individuals for union office? What should be the conditions of that support?

Keylor: Given the extremely degenerate condition of the American trade-union leadership, one has to be extremely careful about offering even critical support to individuals or groupings running for office. Even the smallest committee in the union will be dealing with questions that have to do with the power of the employers over the workers or questions of class-collaboration. So the criteria that one has to apply must be based on program.

While it will vary from time to time in practice, there are certain minimum positions we would generally want to see publicly taken by individuals running for office before we would think of voting for them. There are three interconnected questions that I can think of. One is no support for the top trade-union bureaucracy. There isn't a single major union in this country in which all the components at the top have not been at least complicit in major betrayals of the workers interests. Only people that are prepared to openly break with all sections of the trade-union bureaucracy, and criticize it, can have sufficient independence to merit support.

Another absolutely minimal programmatic aspect is the defense of the independence of the workers movement, especially the unions, from the capitalist state. This usually comes up over the question of lawsuits against the unions or government intervention into the internal affairs of the unions.

1917: Or defying injunctions?

Keylor: Yes, that is another aspect of the same thing. Anyone who runs for office in a union and will not take a position on the necessity to defy injunctions or court orders emanating from the capitalist state, is simply not able to defend workers interests.

And then there is the question of a break with the Democratic and Republican parties, the twin bourgeois parties. While we always call for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and for a workers government that will expropriate industry without compensation, in some cases we have given critical support to candidates for office who simply called for breaking with the Democrats and Republicans and forming a workers party.

In general though, ‘‘critical support’’ in union elections is an application of the united front. Lenin compared it to that which a rope gives a hanged man. What he meant was that an important aspect of critical support is exposure, in practice, of the inadequacies and contradictions of a reformist program. You cannot expose a reformist unless he or she runs on a platform that in some fashion represents a real break from class-collaborationism. Every out-bureaucrat will promise ‘‘more militancy’’ and ‘‘more democracy’’—it’s cheap. If you vote for somebody on that basis you are really just voting for one reformist because he’s more popular than the other.

It’s always a concrete question, but if a reformist oppositionist is running at the head of a real rank-and-file movement, and is seriously committed in the eyes of his base to fight for some programmatic plank which is really opposed to pro-capitalist business unionism, then class-struggle elements could consider offering him critical support, despite the reformist limitations of the rest of his platform. At the same time, it is necessary to warn those who follow such a candidate that his platform as a whole contradicts this particular demand. That way, if and when he betrays this demand, those who supported him because of it will begin to understand that only the consistent class-struggle elements in the union are capable of really fighting for their interests.

1917: In 1984 you initiated a united front for the political strike which boycotted the South African cargo on the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* in San Francisco. A lot of the workers involved in that action had very different politics than yours, right?

Keylor: That is correct. The initiating committee and the committee that implemented the boycott after it was approved, was composed of individuals who had not only widely different political views, but who had often been in very sharp, antagonistic disputes in the union and even outside the union.

1917: On the eleventh day of the cargo boycott, when a federal court injunction came down, the bloc split. What happened?

Keylor: When the federal injunction came down the local union leadership, which had been giving passive support, and in some cases rather active support to the boycott, called a special meeting of the local executive board. After extensive debate the board voted eleven to five to comply with the injunction. In the course of that debate the bloc split with most of the members, who were either one-time adherents or supporters of the Communist Party, various Maoist groupings or who could be characterized as something like black nationalists, went along with the union bureaucracy in advocating an end to the boycott and complying with the injunction.

The local executive board voted to end the boycott and voted down my proposal to

call a mass, stop-work membership meeting at the pier to make the decision. I called for this because a meeting of a couple of thousand longshoremen at the pier would have amounted to a mass picket line and could well have led to successfully defying the injunction. At any rate, my proposal was voted down. So then, I, along with a number of other militants in the union and supporters from outside the union, attempted to put up a picket line and continue the boycott and defy the injunction. Initially we closed down the pier and stopped the trucks for an hour and the longshoremen did not work. But eventually the Stalinists, the adherents of the Communist Party, helped the cops to break the action by escorting the trucks through the picket line and creating fear among those participants who were not part of the union that they would go to jail for long periods of time for defying the injunction.

1917: Recently there has been an important strike on the waterfront by the Inland Boatman's Union [IBU], an affiliate of the ILWU. I understand you have been active in promoting cooperation between the IBU and the longshore division to stop scabbing. Was there any defiance of injunctions in this strike?

Keylor: Not defiance of an injunction specifically, but there was an invasion of ''private property'' when the employers took three barges that had been stopped through joint IBU/ILWU action in Oakland to Redwood City and began unloading them with non-longshoremen. This was seen as a direct incursion of longshore jurisdiction, as well as an attempt to weaken and break the IBU strike. All the longshoremen, clerks and walking bosses in the Bay Area then left their jobs and traveled to the pier to protest the scabbing. This was an ''illegal'' action because, according to federal law, we were violating our contract. In fact, members of the longshore division and the striking boatmen went onto the pier and ''illegally'' chased off the scabs.

There have been many injunctions in the IBU strike which have largely strangled it, because they have been adhered to by the leadership of the IBU and the ILWU. The lesson that class-conscious militants in the unions have to constantly hammer home to the membership is that even a minimal defense of the union requires actions that are illegal under some section or sections of federal law. Whether defiance of an injunction, or even the most minimal stop-work action, the Taft-Hartley law makes it all illegal.

1917: Gompers-style ''business unionists'' argue that unions should concern themselves simply with the wages and working conditions of their members. In the long run the interests of the longshoremen are tied pretty closely to the interests of the class as a whole, including the unemployed. How can this connection be made?

Keylor: One of the problems we ran into in longshore is the parochialism, growing out of the fact that longshoremen, by the nature of their work, even though they are

small in numbers, have an unusual economic power. Ports and port facilities can't be moved easily. But the union could not have been formed in the first place or defended against employer attacks, especially in the early decades, without the support of other workers and especially other maritime workers. There is an unusually rich history of this in longshore which has almost been lost, but which the class-struggle militants went back to and used as illustrations.

For example, it is not well known, but in 1934 when scabs were loading ships in San Francisco harbor and some other west coast ports, the longshoremen in Chile, even though they were under a quite repressive government, refused to handle scab cargo. Longshoremen in Australia and some other countries did the same. That kind of international support was one of the factors that helped win the strike. Of course it was the massive San Francisco general strike and the threat of extending it to the rest of the west coast that finally won the establishment of the longshoremen's union in 1934. Today we call for using the union's full power to organize the unemployed in waterfront areas. That should make a lot of sense to any trade-unionist—it's elementary self-defense.

As for the unemployed, rather than accept a shrinking workforce in longshore, for example, we call for a shorter work shift with no loss in pay to the point where not only all present workers are kept working, but additional workers can be added. This is how the Transitional Program proposes to solve unemployment—by dividing the available work among the available work-force, at no loss in pay.

It is also important to start organizing the unemployed directly by the unions, similar to what was done in the 1930's especially in the mass organizing of auto workers. That's part of the lost history of the labor movement. It would have been a lot harder to organize those auto plants if they hadn't been organizing the unemployed along with them. A lot of the pickets that surrounded and sealed off the auto plants were composed of unemployed auto workers organized in unemployed leagues close to the union.

1917: Historically, the most important single obstacle to class consciousness among white workers in America has been the deeply embedded racism in this country. How can socialists in the unions take up this problem?

Keylor: Socialists first of all have to confront the problem where it exists. Even in the longshore union division racism existed in the form of restrictions against blacks coming into the union in a number of locals. The issue has to be confronted directly in terms of hiring, especially in hiring of blacks, Asians and other minority workers. In the longshore division that battle has been largely won for now. But the overall threat to the union by divisions among workers growing out of racism is a very real one.

Several years ago when a black longshoreman in my local moved into an area of the

suburbs that was largely white, he was subject to direct threats and even attacks on his house by the Ku Klux Klan. At that time we Trotskyists fought for a defense guard composed largely of longshoremen to defend that worker's home in conjunction with black community groups. We fought this issue out in the union. We lost the fight but in the process we made some gains in terms of educating workers in the necessity of not depending on the bourgeois state for defense against racist, fascist groups like the Klan.

1917: As I understand it, the union bureaucracy decided to hire private security guards instead.

Keylor: That is correct. The interesting thing is that we won the fight in the sense that the union bureaucrats had to concede that it was not realistic to simply rely on the police to defend this threatened worker. But their solution was to hire private security guards around the clock to protect his home.

1917: Finally, how do you see the possibilities for the creation of a class-struggle current in the unions in the coming period?

Keylor: The potential is great but the difficulty is that in the short run there are not sizeable political groupings in place that can initiate and give rise to indigenous class-struggle formations which can pose a quantitatively significant alternative on a national level. It is not going to happen spontaneously. It didn't happen that way in the high points in North American trade-union history in the past. The obstacles to an alternative class-struggle leadership being built are in some ways even greater today, so that the necessity to bring forward the hard-won lessons of working-class struggle in initiating and building such formations is even more critical.

Part of the reluctance of workers to struggle and to go on the offensive is a lack of confidence in their present leadership. In fact, I wouldn't say part of the reason, I'd say the overwhelming obstacle to a working-class offensive against Reagan is that the union ranks don't trust their leadership to lead them in struggle.

There is among American workers a very profoundly felt hunger and need for labor unity in struggle. This was clearly expressed around the PATCO strike. Many workers have told me, even the most conservative workers, that the only thing that could have saved that strike, and stopped Reagan's union-busting was a nation-wide general strike, or at least regional general strikes where the airports were. That was a very deep-felt need of workers at that time. Unfortunately there were not the political groupings in place within the unions with the will and the authority to have raised those demands in such as way as to force some action. So we saw a defeat.

The key is to build a revolutionary organization with a real, organic connection to the working class. That is why I am a supporter of the Bolshevik Tendency. Because I think

the Bolshevik Tendency has learned these lessons best and can show the way to build such formations in the working class. At this point, the question is one of the struggle for political clarity in the construction of the nuclei of the future leadership of the class.

There is today a growing awareness on the part of the more advanced workers that their problems can't be solved on a national basis. I have been surprised at how aware workers are that capitalist interests can move their money around pretty freely from country to country. They recognize that it isn't possible even to wrest lasting gains in this country because the capitalists can always move their money to where the rate of exploitation is higher than it is here.

There is a really deep felt need for international solidarity among workers. We found this was true in longshore when we raised demands for the defense of workers in other countries: South Africa, Chile and others. And when there was a possibility of acting, even in a small and symbolic fashion, to build solidarity with workers internationally, I have found through my own experience on the waterfront that the workers are quite open. And that's why you can remain optimistic about the future. In the last analysis though, it all comes back to the question of available alternatives—the question of the crisis of working-class leadership.

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A Working Class Hero: Honoring Our Comrade Howard Keylor

Remarks by Henry Johnson on behalf of the Bolshevik Tendency,
December 9, 2018

‘A Working-Class Hero’

Honoring our comrade Howard Keylor

The following remarks were made by Henry Johnson on behalf of the Bolshevik Tendency at a meeting held on 9 December 2018 in the ILWU Local 10 hall in San Francisco, to honor our comrade Howard Keylor, a founding member of the Bolshevik Tendency.

I am speaking on behalf of the Bolshevik Tendency—the group that Howard played a central role in for well over 30 years. During his long life Howard has done a lot of things, but he is, above all, a political person. His political views evolved as his understanding developed over time, but his commitment to fighting for the exploited and downtrodden and advocating a revolutionary social transformation has never changed.

Howard is an incurable optimist who has always operated on the basis that a good example can be contagious, given the right set of circumstances. He has never been afraid to “call things by their right names” and “speak the truth to the masses, however bitter it might be.” Howard never curried favor or made political decisions on the basis of wanting to advance his career or get a pat on the head or avoid getting into “trouble.” This attribute is unfortunately rather unusual in leftist politics.

Howard learned long ago that those who look for short-cuts soon end up trimming their program and stretching the truth and before too long idealistic young subjective revolutionaries can end up in places they could never have imagined when they started out.

As a very young man in the U.S. Army at the end of World War Two, Howard witnessed first-hand the hatred and contempt the officer corps had for the enlisted men, and intuitively understood how this reflected the structural inequalities of the larger capitalist social order. Inspired by a vision of the socialist future, he enlisted in the Communist Party as soon as he got out of the army. He did so because he saw the CP as the vehicle by which hunger, war, racism, exploitation and oppression could be ended.

Howard, who was from a plebeian “hillbilly” back-ground, had enrolled in pre-meds, but some CP talent spotter instead rerouted him into the working class, and he ended up in the ILWU. He stayed in the party throughout the McCarthy period, and was important enough to attract interest from the FBI. But he was never entirely comfortable in the Stalinist movement and always tended to be a bit of a leftist deviant. By the early 1960s, with three girls to bring up, he left the CP although he

remained politically active in the union.

Then one day in the 1970s he bought a second-hand copy of Isaac Deutscher's *The Prophet Armed*, and stayed up all night reading it. *Eureka!* He immediately grasped that many things he had never liked about the CP's line and doubts he had about the Kremlin's foreign policy had their roots in the Stalin-Trotsky fight during the 1920s. Before long he figured out that the Spartacist League was the real continuity of Trotskyist politics and linked up with them.

In 1974, when Howard came around the SL, it was a very dynamic organization with a healthy appetite for revolutionary work in the unions. Howard was instrumental in launching the Militant Caucus in the ILWU which, within a few years, recorded some impressive successes. But at the same time the top leadership of the SL began to show signs of significant political degeneration. In 1981 this process intersected Howard's trade-union work rather dramatically during the PATCO air traffic controllers' strike. The SL policy had been to agitate for mass solidarity union pickets to shut down the San Francisco airport. The idea was that if this happened it might be a springboard for launching a general strike. Howard, a member of the Local 10 Exec Board, was ideally situated to head up this work. He arranged for PATCO reps to speak to Local 10 and other unions, and was invited by PATCO to sit in on their strike strategy meetings. And then the SL leadership suddenly announced an internal policy, not to be publicly advertised, of ignoring the union boycott of the struck airports: "Fly, Fly, Fly" was their new slogan.

Howard was caught by surprise. A lot of people in and around the SL had a queasy feeling about this, but only Howard, his wife Uschi and a youth member, Lisa, had the political courage to openly object. Howard has always been a stand-up guy; he was never the type to "adjust" his principles under pressure. The SL leadership became very hostile and had him pushed out of the Militant Caucus.

Howard continued his work in the union and began publishing the *Militant Longshoreman*. Before long he and Uschi had found some co-thinkers and launched a competing organization—initially known as the "External Tendency," today the "Bolshevik Tendency."

The 1984 11-day anti-apartheid cargo boycott was probably the most outstanding single accomplishment in Howard's storied union career. The SL reacted bitterly, and scandalously attempted to wreck the action, slandering the militants who carried it out as "scabs." There are at least a few comrades here today who were down on Pier 80 that night and remember what happened.

The SL leadership launched a vicious slander campaign against Howard; they called him a "rat," an "aspiring bureaucrat" and lots of other ugly things. Some who drank the Jimstown Kool Aid still engage in this sort of stuff—alleging that Howard and his

comrades are “alright with crossing picket lines” among other things. Cynical leftists can get pretty nasty. But the fact that some people are still so anxious to malign Howard’s record and the politics he stands for, is, in a perverse way, a sort of tribute. Lenin observed that old revolutionaries are often celebrated and turned into harmless icons by their enemies. Howard hasn’t been—he is still considered too dangerous.

Howard’s exemplary work in the ILWU provides a model for future revolutionary activists. He was able to achieve what he did because, over the years, his fellow union members learned that he was honest, serious, steady and sensible. He was able to explain things, sometimes complicated things like the need for socialist revolution, in ways that made sense. He was also able to work with people on particular projects with whom he had very serious differences. Workers, including those who did not agree with his politics, respected him because they knew that he was absolutely sincere and that he could be trusted to do what he said he would.

Howard understood that without revolutionary organization the working people are only material for exploitation, and recognized that the essential task is therefore to build a viable revolutionary organization rooted in the working class—something much easier said than done.

Howard always had a knack for picking up on whatever possibilities existed at a particular moment to push things forward. The 1984 longshore boycott, which began with a discussion between Howard, Uschi and Bob Mandel around a kitchen table, was ultimately ended by a federal injunction. At that point the united front that carried it out split and Howard’s erstwhile partners folded, while he defiantly helped organize a picket line to keep the pier closed. After an hour, and several arrests, the picket line was dispersed and the boycott was over. But it made a lasting impact. It showed what labor, led by class-conscious militants, was capable of. It was deeply appreciated by black trade unionists in South Africa. Years later, after apartheid was formally ended, Nelson Mandela came to the Bay Area and saluted the longshore militants who had made it happen.

Howard has often remarked that the older he gets the more profoundly convinced he becomes of the validity of the Trotskyist program and the vital importance of struggling to build an organizational vehicle to advance it. Like all great revolutionaries, Howard is motivated by concerns that go far beyond his own immediate personal interests. His life spent participating in a struggle vastly larger than himself has not negated his individuality, but fulfilled it. His devotion to fight on behalf of all the “wretched of the earth” has lifted him up and sustained him and made him the person he is—a working-class hero who is among the very finest human beings who walks this earth. He fought the good fight, and never flinched. He

put all his strength and all his ability into the class struggle, and he has made a difference. We in the Bolshevik Tendency are proud to be able to call Howard Keylor our comrade.

Founding Statement of the Militant Caucus, December 16, 1974

December 16, 1974

On the basis of programmatic agreement, we hereby establish a caucus within the ILWU to fight for leadership within the union. Our agreement has been worked out over a number of months through political action in Local 6 and in Local 10 and through programmatic discussions. This work included the anti-blacklist campaign in Local 6 and Mandel's election campaign. It included the Committee to Implement the Boycott in defense of the Chilean working class. This Committee was a principled united front formation in which we worked together on the minimal basis of international working class solidarity while each of us had the unrestricted right to express his own politics fully and publicly. Further agreement was reached in the course of the struggle waged by Keylor and Gow to stop Bridge's attempt to railroad through another contract sellout and in their joint election campaign. The basis for our programmatic agreement is contained in the following published material:

1) Mandel and Dow's leaflet "For International Labor Solidarity--Defend the Chilean Workers Movement!" dated 8/14/74
2) Mandel and Dow's leaflet "ILWU Is Under the Axe--For A United ILWU Class-Struggle Counteroffensive!" dated 9/9/74
3) Mandel's program statement of candidacy in the Local 6 election supplement dated November, 1974
4) Gow and Keylor's leaflet "Stop the Sell-Out! Come to the Union Meeting Tonight!" dated Nov. 21, 1974
5) Gow and Keylor's "Open Letter to the Entire ILWU" dated 12/1/74
6) Gow and Keylor's joint statement of candidacy "For A Militant ILWU" dated 12/3/74

Membership in the caucus is based on programmatic agreement and active participation in carrying out that program. Caucus discipline centers on the program of the caucus as applied to either specific union issues or general social issues. Caucus positions are arrived at through political discussion and democratic majority vote. Decisions, once taken, are binding on the caucus members, though always subject to further review by the caucus. On issues on which the caucus has no programmatic stance or has made no decisions, individuals in the caucus are free to express themselves publicly. There will be an elected caucus organizer and any other officers we see fit to establish. All elected officers of the caucus are subject to recall at any time. The organizer is empowered to make interim policy decisions. Such decisions shall be made whenever possible in consultation with the entire caucus or its individual members. Such decisions shall be subject to review by the caucus. The caucus will establish a dues structure sufficient to meet its expenses.

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LONGSHORE / WAREHOUSE MILITANT CAUCUS

FOUNDING DOCUMENT (INTERNAL) TO CAUCUS

NOTE DEMOCRATIC CENTRALIST STRUCTURE

Longshore Militant, including flyers and election materials
1974 - 1981

SINGLE ISSUE SINGLE PRISON PROFILE RAISING

Resolution:

ON ERA AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION:

Whereas, the workers movement should support the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) as a basic statement of equality, and

Whereas, the basic equality of women depends on solving the problems of women as workers, which ERA ignores, and

Whereas, government interference in the labor movement, which under the guise of protecting "democracy" or the rights of minorities, weakens the independence of the trade unions and pits one section of the working class against another, and

Whereas, the oppression of women can be ended only as part of a general struggle of the labor movement uniting all workers, men included, in the common struggle against employers and the government that defends them,

Therefore Be It Resolved that this conference calls on all U.S. unions to

1) support the integration of women into the work force while protecting the standards of all workers by

   a) endorsing the ERA, while demanding the extension of genuine women's protective labor legislation to men

   b) demanding free, 24-hour child care at work places paid for by employers or the state, and under the control of parents and staff,

2) reject cooperation with affirmative action programs such as the recent AT&T/EEOC settlement which are part of a general attack on the unions and which provide for preferential hiring plans enforced by government-company control boards and which increase divisions between workers by creating more competition in a shrinking job market,

3) fight instead for union control of hiring and upgrading on a first come, first served basis, while eliminating all discriminatory practices from the seniority system,

4) fight for genuine and lasting gains for all, rather than token benefits for one section of workers at the expense of others, by demanding jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay (30 for 40).

Submitted by:

Karen Miles
N.Y. Printing Pressmen and
Offset Workers' Union

labor donated

22 June 1974

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About 2:30 P.M. Friday a group of about 14 men barged into the Secretary Treasurer's office of local 10 ILWU, demanded the immediate resignation of himself and all other officers. They announced that they were taking over the union International Monitor Bill Ward was present and P.M.A. (the waterfront employer) ~~Representative~~ Area Manager Bill Edwards was in another part of the building.

Local President Frank Stout and Chief Business Agent Larry Wing entered the office and together with Secretary-Treasurer Herb Mills refused to resign and turn over the offices to the group.

Business Agent Larry Wing went to the main office to telephone the other officers who were off duty. The mob followed him and ordered him not to touch any union property. When he picked up the phone the mob rushed him. In the ensueing melee Wing was beaten to the floor by the mob, punched, kicked, and repeadedly struck over the head by Morrell Marshall with a 5 pound metal union seal held by the handle. The other two officers present attempted to stop the attack and were themselves punched and beaten. Monitor Bill Ward made no attempt to stop the attack.

As the President and Secretary were helping B.A. Larry Wing out of the building to take him to the hospital a man rushed forward exclaiming "I'm a reporter for the examiner. Are you the business agent who is resigning?". When someone questioned his timely appearance he plaintively replied "But, Harry sent me."

The mob then occupied the Secretary Treasurer's office. The officers went to the dispatch hall to inform the membership what was happening.

About 6:00 P.M. as a crowd was gathering about the officers in the dispatch hall the occupiers slipped out a side door. The officers then reoccupied their offices and continued conducting union business including Larry Wing who returned after having had 6 stitches taken in his scalp and x rays taken. He returned against the advice of doctors who warned against a possible concussion. Night Business agent George Kaye and week-end Business Agent Andrew Dulaney continued to occuppy their offices and carry out their duties.

The mob of attackers was composed of men who had constantly for the past 10 months opposed a dues increase, a special assessment to pay Local 10's indebtedness of approximately $250,000 and a reduction in expenses advocated by all the officers. They used disruption, parliamentary manuevering and threats to prevent action by the Local membership. At a large membership meeting on August 3 this group was overwhelmingly defeated by a vote of approximately 1000 to 8 on a motion to amend the Local constitution to make it easier to pass a dues increase and a secret ballot vote was scheduled two weeks later to pass a $5.00 dues increase and a $ 60.00 assessment.

Before these reforms could take place the international union moved in, canceled the ballot and took control of the union.

Since then the international monitors have ordered the union officers not to pay over any moneys owed by the union to the Building association, a separate non-profit corporate body composed of all longshoremen. Included in these funds to be confiscated were the regular $3.00 monthly assessment paid by each active longshoremen to pay the mortgage on the property owned by the Association, over $30,000 loaned by the association to the local, and about $100,000 owed by the local and the employer for taxes and rent onthe jointly operated dispatch hall. This move was interpreted as an attempt to force the Association into bankruptcy, necessitating foreclosure of the mortgage held by the pension fund jointly administered by the international union officers and the P.M.A.,the waterfront employers.

The mob was led by Chief Dispatcher, Joe Mosely, and a number of unsucessful candidates for union office: Lawrence Thibeaux, Herb Burnley, Morell Marshall, Charles Pennington, Bob Sharp, and included Henry Conley and Kyle Shakesnider.

Several of these men were armed but didn't openly display their weapons. L. Thibeaux did inform the Secretary-treasurer that if he didn't resign he would be "blown away". These men habitually carry concealed weapons but have no fear of the police since they are all loyal adherents of the Alioto political machine.

NO GOODS TO CHILE'S JUNTA: a step forward

Wednesday and Thursday ILWU members of Local 10 and 34 will refuse to handle any cargo to or from Chile in port. At the suggestion of the International, the Local 10 executive committee voted to implement the boycott for these two days as part of a two-day worldwide stoppage called by the International Federation of Transport Workers to defend the Chilean working class from the attacks of the military junta. The embargo is a tremendous step of internationalism-- we are the first union in the US to take concrete action against the coup. The boycott will not only bring pressure to bear against the trial and execution of any more Chilean militants; it will serve as a warning to the exploiters everywhere that further attempts to crush organized labor through the use of arms will be met by organized, militant, international resistance. Such warning must be served directly on the US ruling class which has already attacked the Vietnamese and Chilean workers (Kissinger directed the coup) and will not hesitate to attack US workers when the chips are down. We have already seen the UFW attacked by the police and ILWU Local 30 strikers shot on the picket lines at Borax.

The decision by the International to finally implement the boycott is a victory for the ranks of the waterfront locals. Last November Local 10 voted to "boycott all goods and cargo to and from Chile until...the junta...restores full rights to the trade unions. their membership and leaders." Since then Local 34 adopted the resolution and established an official committee open to the ranks to work with other locals to get the boycott going. Over 450 longshoremen and clerks recently sighed a petition demanding that

the International implement it immediately.. For nine months, the International dragged its heels. It went so far as to claim that no goods were being shipped to Chile from West Coast ports while not printing a letter to the Dispatcher which pointed out that one Chile-bound ship every two weeks leaves Pier 30-32 alone.

Now that the rank and file action has finally gotten results, we must demand that the boycott be used effectively. The ship Santa Maria, a Grace Liner directly involved in Chile trade is docking today in LA. The boycott must be made coastwide and should be in effect for the entire journey of the ship. No Chilean cargo should be moved on or off it in LA, Seattle, Vancouver, etc. To limit the boycott of the cargo to one port on two days, while still an act of significant internaticnalism, will undermine its effectiveness and give it the appearance of tokenism. The International must call on the other longshore and clerks locals to also boycott Chilean goods on this ship.

Coastwide boycott action will also prevent the isolation and victimization of any single individual, local or port by PMA. such as the loss of the guarantee for the week. Defense of the Chilean workers against military repression is a step of internationalism which must be taken no matter what but there is no reason for us to surrender the guarantee while doing so. The Local 10 exec called on the International to take steps to prevent it (as the International prevented its loss during the week of the stopwork meeting on the monitorship) and the International must take steps to do so. One effective step would be threatening to extend the coastwide boycott into strike action to prevent loss of benefits.

Such radical action should be given serious consideration. PMA will see the Chile boycott as a major test of strength since this represents the first time in decades that US labor has used a secondary boycott to defend its class interests. We must defend the boycott tactic with all our might since it can be invaluable in future strug-

gles like defense of the UFW.

To make clear our opposition to the junta, the Local 10 exec voted for a mass picket by ILWU members at Pier 30-32 Wednesday morning. It also called on the leadership and ranks of the ILA to join the boycott action, shutting down Chilean goods on both coasts. However, it took one step that will limit the political impact of our action--it voted not to invite the dozens of political groups and thousands of individuals, who have participated in demonstrations against the junta, to join the ILWU picket line. This was a mistake-while the labor movement through its power to boycott and strike can move more effectively against the junta than can others, labor must seek to mobilize the widest possible support for its actions to broaden their base and ensure their success.

The objection stated for not broadening our base of support beyond the ILWU was not wanting "radicals" on the docks. This decision will exclude other labor support and pro-labor militants. The political militants they want to exclude have defended the Chilean working class and played a valuable role in educating the general public about the events in Chile. They have also spread the word about the ILWU's boycott action and helped build support for it. In Chile, the junta has executed students, peasants, intellectuals and political militants of the left who worked in the interests of the worker's movement. Sections of these same forces in the US and worldwide will work as our allies and we have a responsibility to mobilize them in defense of all victims of the junta.

The two-day international boycott by transport workers is a big step in the right direction. But much remains to be done. The junta is currently planning to try dozens of political leaders including prominent members of the Allende government. We must establish official committees in all ILWU locals open to the ranks with the power to plan the continued effective use of the ILWU's boycott policy in defense of the Chilean working class.

Signed:	Howard Keylor	20447	Local 10
	Stan Gow	4498	Local 10
	John Dow	2855	Local 6
	Henry L. Johnson	10470	Local 6
	Bob Carson	2041	Local 34
	Dave Ramet	2005	Local 34

September 17, 1974 labor donated

ILA AND ILWU BOYCOTT
CHILEAN CARGO ON 18th AND 19th OF SEPTEMBER

The Spartacist League has been actively calling for direct labor action by US dockworkers in solidarity with the Chilean working class ever since the coup of September 1973. The last year of agitation around this issue has recently borne fruit in the decision of the two powerful American longshore unions, the ILA and the ILWU to support the International Federation of Transport Workers ' call for a boycott of Chilean shipping on the 18th and 19th of September. This boycott, while extremely limited in character and having the immediate effect of a largely symbolic political protest, represents a milestone in the last few decades of the American labor movement. A significant sector of the American working class is using its direct power in the form of work stoppages in support of the working class of another country. As such it represents a real step forward for international class solidarity for American workers.

SPARTACIST SUPPORT TO LONGSHORE BOYCOTTS

On September 19th in New York City a united front committee initiated by the Spartacist League (SL), The September 19th Coalition For Chile Boycott, organized a demonstration which was endorsed by the ILA international and personally by both Gleason and Scotto of the ILA. A number of longshoremen participated in the demonstration and the ILA refused to handle Chilean cargo on that day

On the West Coast the SL has been working since February for the implementation of a motion passed by ILWU local 10.

> Motion: Local #10 goes on record to boycott all goods and cargo to and from Chile until such a time that the Junta or government in Chile restores full rights to the trade unions, their membership and leaders and until the Junta permits a delegation of trade unionists from the U.S. to visit Chile and determine for themselves the status of the unions and their members in Chile. We refer this matter to the International and the Coast Committee with a strong recommendation for positive action.

In February 1974 the SL organized demonstration at Pier 30-32 of the San Francisco docks where the Santa Maria, a Prudential Grace Line ship that sails regularly to and from Chile was being loaded. Sympathetic longshoremen refused to begin work until a business agent said that the contract required them to load the ship. And even he was forced to express "sympathy with the aims of the group demonstrating here."

LOCAL 10 RESOLUTION AND CHILEAN WORKERS

The SL has been the only organization to make the Local 10 resolution available to the Chile movement in a series of leaflets. The motion, although supportable, has a somewhat utopian character which probably proceeds from the fact that its author, long-time Communist Party supporter Archie Brown, never intended that anything should be done about it. Calling for a boycott of Chilean shipping in order to restore full trade union rights to the workers of Chile implies that American longshoremen have the power to overthrow the Junta, an act which is necessary to the restoration of trade union rights in Chile. The overthrow of the Junta can only be accomplished by forces inside Chile. For that the Chilean working class itself must organize to carry out a proletarian revolution. International labor boycotts can, however, play an important supportive and defensive role if selectively applied. If, for example, every time a Chilean militant was shot or condemned to death by the Junta a shipment of Chilean copper or agricultural produce was dumped into the Pacific, the Junta might have to think twice the next time. Also, the boycott of military cargo to Chile should be carried out internationally.and on a

BUREAUCRATS AND STALINISTS UNDERMINE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

From the beginning it was apparent that the ILWU international would do everything it could to ignore the resolution and to block action on it. The struggle for carrying it out had to be waged <u>against</u> the international bureaucracy headed by Harry Bridges. Only the mobilization of the ILWU membership could force the international to make even a gesture in the direction of support to the Chilean

In the lineup of forces, the Communist Party and its supporters and sympathizers played the role they have played for years...that of apologists for and defenders of the Bridges bureaucracy, and of the reformist Local 10 leadership. At every point the supporters of the Communist Party, whose organizational control of the Bay Area Coordinating Committee for Solidarity With Chile is almost complete, have done everything possible to prevent any demonstration of support for the Local 10 boycot call.

At the first planning meeting for the May 11 demonstration, Fred Hirsch, longtime CP sympathizer and head of the San Jose-based Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile (ECDC) went into a tirade against supporters of the Spartacist League who brought up the Local 10 resolution and who attacked Bridges for sabotaging it. Hirsch declared that it was wrong to criticize Bridges, that he wished the plumbers' union that he belonged to had fine leaders like that. Archie Brown, head of the Bay Area Trade Union Committee for Democracy in Chile (BATUDC), longtime CP supporter and author of the Local 10 resolution, joined in the attack. The point was quickly made that the Communist Party and its friends within the labor movement would do nothing around the boycot issue that Harry Bridges wouldn't like...meaning that they would do nothing at all.

With the local Stalinist movement thus tied to Bridges' coat tail, the smaller groups within the Chile coalition have been made painfully aware that to picket at the docks or to mobilize for the implementation of the resolution meant to break with the Stalinists - something they were as unwilling to do as to publicly condemn the Popular Front politics of the Allende government.

The Spartacist League, frequently supported by the tiny centrist Class Struggle League and the Committee for Working Class Studies, a rather amorphous New Left formation has thus initiated <u>every</u> action at the docks by forces outside the ILWU in support of the local resolution. Repeatedly the local CP-dominated Chile coalition (currently called the Bay Area Coordinating Committee for Solidarity With Chile) has refused to take any action in solidarity with the Local 10 motion. At the planning meetings for the protests against the presence of the Chilean Navy vessel the Esmeralda, all components of the coalition (ECDC, CP and YWLL, NICH, RMC, USLA, and BATUDC) not only objected to solidarizing with the motion, but also voted against the Spartacist motion that the demonstration add a fifth demand, SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKING CLASS OF CHILE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE JUNTA!

There is after all a certain logic by which tailending ERidges and supporting the Popular Front United Chilean Left excludes solidarity with the workers of Chile

L. A. Longshoremen Walk Off The Santa Maria
In Response to the SL-Initiated Picket Line

As soon as the ILWU international announced that it was "recommending" to its members that they not handle Chilean cargo on the 18th and 19th of September the SL began organizing a picket of the imfamous Santa Maria at the Los Angeles docks on September 17. Longshoremen were glad to see a picket line of over 75 people, and walked off the Santa Maria, refusing to continue work for 3 hours. The demonstration had received the endorsement of Joe Ibarra, president of the ILWU warehouse division Local 26 and C. Castro, secretary of ILWU Local 56, as well as John T. Williams, president of Local 208 IBT, several other labor officials and socialist groups, including the International Socialists, Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Collective and USLA.

The Committee to Implement the Boycott: Militant Struggle
Inside the ILWU

The Spartacist league is proud to take credit for the public support work done around the issue of labor boycotts directed against the Junta. But the activities of the independent, rank and file ILWU committee, The Committee to Implement the Boycott deserve at least equal credit for finally forcing the ILWU leadership into their very token support of the boycott. Members of this committee collected over 450 signatures from members of the Clerks and Longshoremens ILWU Locals on a petition calling for action on

the Local 10 resolution. Fooling no one, old Stalinist supporter Archie Brown reluctantly signed it (after all it was his own motion) but was too afraid of offending Bridges and the Local 10 leadership to help circulate it. This rank and file committee made up of members of the 3 major ILWU locals in the area, 10 (Longshore, 34 (Clerks), and 6 (Warehouse) put out several leaflets and got Local 34 to establish an official local committee to work for the implementation of the Local 10 motion. This committee has in fact been the only group within the union to push the local 10 resolution or to raise the issue of the junta's repression within the ILWU. In contrast, the International's support for the token boycot went no further than sending out a letter to locals recommending that they support it and telling them to take any action they saw fit. It was only the vigilance of the Committee to Implement the Boycot that made the boycot a reality. The only information ILWU members received came from a leaflet distributed by the committee. In the hours before work began, committee members from the Longshore and Clerks locals identified two trailerloads of chemicals destined for the Chilean mining industry and called in their respective local presidents who endorsed the boycot.

Communist Party Sabotages Independent Working Class Action

During the week of the boycot, the CP-dominated Bay Area Chile Coalition vacillated under the pressure of the SL's determination to hold a demonstration in support of the action at the docks. First they refused to ley an SL spokesman make the announcement at a rally held at Glide Memorial Church, then they announced that they were organizing a picketline themselves, then two days later they announced that they <u>might</u> hold a picketline <u>if</u> the Local 10 leadership approved.. The Local 10 leadership, being typical trade union bureaucrats, never approved and the only demonstration these reformists held was in front of the Prudential Grace offices, following which Archie Brown met with representative of Prudential Grace andasked him not to handle Chilean cargo. Rather than organizing the workers to act in class solidarity with the Chilean labor movement these Stalinists beg US corporations to stop shipping goods to Chile! As well beg the bourgeoisie to make the proletarian revolution, Instead of begging Peter Grace who sits on the board of directors of the American Institute of Free Labor Development to stop shipments to Chile, the Spartacist League organized a demonstration at the docks Thursday morning when the Santa Maria got in, a day late because of the delay caused by the Los Angeles demonstration. San Francisco longshoremen loaded no cargo to Chile that Thursday.

The Fake Fourth International; The United Secretariat Majority Vs. the SWP

That Stalinist forces in the Bay Area should act like Stalinists anywhere in refusing to struggle for direct CLASS action in solidarity with the Chilean proletariat comes as no suprise to anyone. And NICH, which consists mostly of admirers of the Allende regime residing in Chile at the time of the coup, could naturally be expected to fall into the reformist traps laid for them by the Stalinist.

More interesting is the contradictory situation of the ostensibly Trotskyist RMC that often goes about in the Chile movement disguised as the SF Chile Solidarity Committee (if the CP indeed has not taken that handy front group away from them by now). This tiny group of comic opera Pabloites, the Revolutionary Marxist Collective politically identifies itself with the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group, and with the European Majority of the desperately divided United Secretariat led by Ernest Mandel. In fact by their attacks on the SWP the RMC reveals itself to be somewhat to the left of Mandel himself who has steadfastly recommended to his American supporters the Internationalist Tendency complete submission to the SWP.

While the recently-expelled IT dangles in mid-air, its future dependent on organizational maneuvers between Mandel and the SWP, the RMC clearly opposes the reformism of the SWP... only to become the waterboys for the equally reformist Communist Party. The behavior of the RMC infact is a good indicator of just how far left the politics of the European Majority of the United Secretariat can go. While it

calls Allende's class collaboration a "reformist workers' government", the SWP righteously denounces it as a popular front. But in public the SWP liquidates into UCLA and vigorously opposes going beyond civil libertarian demands. The RMC on the other hand exceeds civil libertarian liberalism only to embrace the popular front and the CP.

In their enormously hypocritical new pamphlet ("Chile One Year After the Coup") printed under the name of the Canadian RMG, the RMC states "for our part we believe that the movement should be based on solidarity with the Chilean workers and peasants struggling against the Junta". Fine words, and correct ones, but twice the RMC, to maintain its block with the CP has voted down almost identical formulations raised by the SL! To the popular front of the United Chilean Left into which the Chilean CP proposes to invite the bourgeois Christian Democrats, the RMC counterposes the MIR proposal for unity with part of the Christian Democratic Party on the basis of a revolutionary proletarian program. In other words they expect part of a bourgeois party to make the proletarian revolution . Calling on people to break from bourgeois parties is a decidely different matter from blocking with them on the basis of <u>their</u> politics.

Scabs Or Fools?

By their own admission the RMC's repeated refusal to join in any demonstration in support of the Local 10 resolution or the more recent ILWU call for a two-day boycott of Chilean cargo marks them as either scabs of fools. "..a strike on the docks against Chilean cargo carried out on a civil libertarian basis is not only desirable but even essential. Any group in solidarity with the Chilean resistance who refused to support such a demonstration would be composed of either scabs or fools"!! Further excelling themselves in hypocrisy they declare: "To the extent that these movements remain exclusively in the hands of the union leaderships they will not raise the consciousness of those that participate in them in any significant way." Coming from a group that steadily refused to oppose the CP's subordination of the Chile movement to the needs of the ILWU bureaudracy these are indeed audacious words. If as they assert, "the movement is currently standing still at the level of civil libertarian protests", it is in part because <u>they</u> have been unwilling to oppose the reformism of the CP except in the sheltered pages of an occasional pamphlet.

We for our part do not believe that the movement is standing still. The Spartacist League, by its aggressive defense of the Chilean left and its work around the call for boycotts of Chilean cargo, has qualitatively raised the level of the movement and significantly advanced the class struggle.

Bay Area Spartacist League
852 MainPost Office
Berkeley 94701
653-4663

September 21, 1974

Labor donated

FOR A MILITANT ILWU

VOTE FOR STAN GOW

4498

For
CAUCUS AND CONVENTION DELEGATES
PUBLICITY COMMITTEE
EXECUTIVE BOARD
GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE

I am currently serving on the General Executive Board and as a member of that board have fought for the interests of the membership and to defend our union. I opposed the 1971 and 1973 contracts and opposed the monitorship. As a member of the General Executive Board and the Grievance Committee I will continue to defend our jobs and working conditions.

Caucus and Convention Delegates: My job in the caucus in behalf of the membership will be to see that job security and working conditions are first on the agenda. Most of the Caucus issues--shorter work day, cost-of-living clause, steady men and job training--are dealt with in our general program printed below.

At the convention I will struggle for workers politics as is also stated in our program. The program that Howard Keylor and I are running on means simply that we want the working class to run society and we will not stop fighting until that goal is won. What I would NOT do is submit to the leadership of the International--in which I have no confidence, or allow myself to be manipulated away from serving the interest of the local or coast membership. On the publicity committee which puts out the bulletin, I would stress issues the employers try to down us on--run-away work like the LASH Barges,

VOTE FOR HOWARD KEYLOR

20447

For
BOARD OF TRUSTEES
EXECUTIVE BOARD

I have been active in the Building Association and in general union affairs. I opposed the monitorship and the 1971 and 1973 contracts. The next contract is critical for the future of our union. If we are going to be able to defend our jobs, a militant fight must be waged for 6 hours work at 8 hours pay. Stan Gow and I are running together on the basis of a program that points the way forward for the ILWU and for the entire working class. This union needs a new militant leadership and our program contains the essential political points on which such a leadership must be based.

Trustee: This past year, the Bridges stooges on the Board of Trustees actively helped to sabotage the Local's attempts to pay its bills. The Board of Trustees must regularly examine the Local's finances and make honest recommendations to the membership. As a trustee, I will make regular reports on finances to the membership. I will fight any attempt to endanger the building. BALMA must remain a separate non-profit corporation to keep the courts from grabbing it.

General Executive Board: The Executive Board is supposed to give guidance and leadership to the Local and make recommendations to the membership so we can protect our jobs and working conditions. Has our current Exec been doing this? NO! Out of 35 members, more than half

Stan Gow. . .

attempts to have super-availability for B and A men, and chiseling on the manning scale.

Publicity Committee: Only an informed membership can defend itself against the company. We need broader coverage in the bulletin of issues where there is a need for working class solidarity (for example, in defense of the Boron strike, our union's boycott of Chilean cargo) and of general political issues that affect the labor movement elsewhere. We need to have coast-wide solidarity with the longshore division and with warehouse. I will see that special bulletins come out on important issues like the barge stoppage when they are hot and I will insist on telling the membership the truth.

Howard Keylor. . .

don't even show up for meetings. Then there is the hard core of stooges for Bridges and Chester who disrupt and deliberately spread confusion and keep the board from dealing with PMA's constant offensive against our members. One of their favorite tricks to keep the board from taking decisive action is to prevent a quorum by walking out. We will attend every meeting of the board, represent the members' interests and expose those who sabotage, and keep the membership informed. If necessary we will put out bulletins at our own expense telling the membership what is really going on.

O U R P R O G R A M

You have a right to know where Gow and Keylor stand on the life and death issues facing our Local, the Longshore division, our whole union and the working class. We have agreed on a program which we believe can point the way towards fighting off the employers' attacks and beginning to rebuild our union's strength! Our program means simply that we want workers to run society and we are dedicated to fighting for that goal until it is realized in a workers government!

1. For a democratic ILWU--Stop goon squad tactics! No Monitors!

The recent attack on Local 10 officers was to intimidate the ranks into toeing the International line. With a depression on the way and our job base rapidly disappearing, we need discussion, not intimidation, to work out our strategy. Those longshoremen who physically attack their brothers must be stopped and disciplined through union procedures.

2. Fight government interference in our union. No dependence on government "investigations" or court actions to settle our union affairs.

The fines which the PMA recently got against us in behalf of Alioto's shipping line (the runaway barges) shows whose side the government and the courts are on. Remember how the government weakened our strike in 1971 with an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction and then broke the strike with a special back-to-work bill supported by the presidential candidates of both parties, Nixon and McGovern.

Some honest brothers are worried by hints of corruption and the bald-faced attempt to seize control of the building, and hope that going to court will save the day. This is a dangerous illusion. The government and the courts are controlled by the corporations and they will use every opportunity to weaken the unions. With depression coming on and workers going into an all-out fight for survival, the courts and government are our mortal enemies and must not be allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of our union. The U.S. Labor Department has had us in court for 2 years trying to force Local 10 to report the building as part of its financial assets. After 10 years on the shelf, the U.S. courts finally brought the case of the 63 B men to trial. Even though Local 10 tried to prevent these men from being kicked off the waterfront, there's a real danger that the court will blame our Local and try to wreck us with heavy fines and penalties. The only real answer is for the rank and file to get themselves together, throw out the discredited Bridges machine and take control of their own affairs. We can't rely on "smart" lawyers or the capitalist courts to clean up our union or save our building.

3. Organize the unorganized!

Barge work is running away from our jurisdiction. At least 80% of container loading and unloading is gone. The whole ILWU is losing work and our jurisdiction is growing smaller. There is only one answer--organize! 75% of U.S. workers don't belong to a union. We need a program of going out over the whole western U.S. and organizing every warehouse, freight station and cargo handling operation that is not organized.

4. Union control of hiring! Abolish steady men!

If we're going to rebuild among longshoremen the unity necessary for a successful fight to save our jobs we must: 1. equalize work opportunity by eliminating 9.43 (steady men), and: 2. provide full skilled job training for all at PMA expense. To further unify the union, the B men must be made full members and the separate B system abolished forever.

5. Union-wide strike for a shorter workday with no loss in pay to guarantee work and a full paycheck for everyone!

100% escalator on the cost-of-living clause in the contract with no top limit. Strike for these things together with Warehouse, Hawaii and Canada. 6 hours work for 8 hours pay with no extended shifts. Keep on sliding the hours down and the wages up to create new jobs for the unemployed. Written into the contract must be the full right to strike over job conditions and union issues. Eliminate "work as directed".

6. End racial and sexual discrimination!

The union must lead the fight against all forms of racial and sexual discrimination. Racial divisions are the greatest danger to the unity of the working class and the government and the employer constantly seek to exploit racism to divide us and keep workers from uniting in a common struggle against their real enemies. The ILWU should have acted decisively to stop Alioto's Operation Zebra--a racist stop-and-frisk campaign, one of whose purposes was obviously to build his state-wide image as a "Law and Order" candidate for governor.

6 hours work at 8 hours pay will create new jobs, benefiting particularly minorities who are the most unemployed and making it possible for women to enter the industry. The shorter workday will make it easier to end discrimination coastwide among Clerks and Walking Bosses.

7. International labor solidarity!

An attack against workers anywhere in the world opens the door to attacks on us. Solidarity with the Chilean workers, the United Farm Workers and Boron through refusing to handle specific cargos. Co-operation not competition with foreign longshoremen--trade war will hurt us both!

8. Nationalize the Longshore/Transport industry without compensation. For workers control!

Less and less work for longshoremen while PMA gets record production and profits; layoffs, energy shortages, inflation, speed-up prove the owners unfit to administer production for the benefit of society as a whole. Workers can run industry better by ourselves.

9. Dump the union bureaucrats! Unions must lead the struggle for a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Bridges' alliance with "friend of labor" Democrats like Alioto has been a disaster for the ILWU. Republicans and Democrats compete to administer a government of, by and for the corporations. We need a government of, by and for the workers.

12/3/74

Labor Donated

December 16, 1974

On the basis of programmatic agreement, we hereby establish a caucus within the ILWU to fight for leadership within the union. Our agreement has been worked out over a number of months through political action in Local 6 and in Local 10 and through programmatic discussions. This work included the anti-blacklist campaign in Local 6 and Mandel's election campaign. It included the Committee to Implement the Boycott in defense of the Chilean working class. This Committee was a principled united front formation in which we worked together on the minimal basis of international working class solidarity while each of us had the unrestricted right to express his own politics fully and publicly. Further agreement was reached in the course of the struggle waged by Keylor and Gow to stop Bridge's attempt to railroad through another contract sellout and in their joint election campaign. The basis for our programmatic agreement is contained in the following published material:

1) Mandel and Dow's leaflet "For International Labor Solidarity--Defend the Chilean Workers Movement!" dated 8/14/74
2) Mandel and Dow's leaflet "ILWU Is Under the Axe--For A United ILWU Class-Struggle Counteroffensive!" dated 9/9/74
3) Mandel's program statement of candidacy in the Local 6 election supplement dated November, 1974
4) Gow and Keylor's leaflet "Stop the Sell-Out! Come to the Union Meeting Tonight!" dated Nov. 21, 1974
5) Gow and Keylor's "Open Letter to the Entire ILWU" dated 12/1/74
6) Gow and Keylor's joint statement of candidacy "For A Militant ILWU" dated 12/3/74

Membership in the caucus is based on programmatic agreement and active participation in carrying out that program. Caucus discipline centers on the program of the caucus as applied to either specific union issues or general social issues. Caucus positions are arrived at through political discussion and democratic majority vote. Decisions, once taken, are binding on the caucus members, though always subject to further review by the caucus. On issues on which the caucus has no programmatic stance or has made no decisions, individuals in the caucus are free to express themselves publicly. There will be an elected caucus organizer and any other officers we see fit to establish. All elected officers of the caucus are subject to recall at any time. The organizer is empowered to make interim policy decisions. Such decisions shall be made whenever possible in consultation with the entire caucus or its individual members. Such decisions shall be subject to review by the caucus. The caucus will establish a dues structure sufficient to meet its expenses.

~~[illegible]~~
LONGSHORE / [A]
WAREHOUSE
MILITANT
CAUCUS

FOUNDING
DOCUMENT
(INTERNAL)
TO CAUCUS

NOTE DEMOCRATIC CENTRALIST STRUCTURE

B

DEFEND THE ILWU--STOP BRIDGES' '75 CONTRACT SELL-OUT

After resisting for over a week the International's attempt to ram through a quickie contract, the coast caucus caved in. It voted Bridges authority to tie up a contract by Feb. 1 and agreed to his demand that caucus contract resolutions only be guidelines for the negotiating committee - not instructions. Bridges has already stated his willingness to resolve all unsettled issues through binding mediation/arbitration--so the caucus action amounts to a guarantee to PMA that there will be no strike this year. Promising in advance not to strike over the contract means giving away all our bargaining power--and means all PMA will give up is crumbs.

1975: JOBS ARE THE ISSUE

One look at Bridges' contract proposal makes it clear why the caucus resisted. Despite major layoffs in auto, steel and warehouse, the International offers absolutely no job protection. On the brink of a depression, jobs are the issue in 1975! and the pay raise and "improved" cost of living adjustment don't even make up for our losses to inflation since the last contract!

Bridges is proposing a "full" PGP with no limit on funding for A men. He says he will "attempt" to eliminate the present language which exempts PMA from paying the PGP in case of a recession. But nowhere does the International demand that there be no layoffs. If PMA can deregister men as they did in 1946 (or knock A men down to B status) then the no-limit PGP will be meaningless. The '73 contract gives PMA the right to demand "a reduction in the work force should unusual circumstances develop."

Rather than increased reliance on thePGP we need jobs for everyone. Just look at how helpless we were when PMA cut the guarantee for the LASH action--without jobs we have no power to force PMA to pay up. In Boston, over half of the ILA local had been living on a similar guarantee. Two weeks ago the employer announced it had become too expensive and simply canceled it! They are still striking over the issue. If PMA agrees to increase the PGP they'll make it much more difficult to collect (like '71-'73) and will probably demand that we abolish most of the dispatch categories, schedule square off days, and re-establish 7 day availability for B men.

Instead of PGP we should fight for shorter work shifts at no loss in pay--like 6 hours work at 8 hours pay, no extended shifts, with no limit on sliding the hours down and the wages up to ensure work. Jobs rather than welfare(PGP) will keep every man active in productive work and in safeguarding the conditions under which we work.

WHAT THE CAUCUS DID

On every key issue the caucus compromised, paving the way for its ultimate collapse. On 9.43 it called for both "an improved formula to equalize earnings" between steadymen and hall men and for the limitation of steadymen to maintenance work and moving gear. Bridges won't limit steadymen. He will return with an 'improved' formula which allows the employer to 'equalize' earnings by increasing the number of steadymen, particularly in ports which have so far resisted 9.43!

Steadymen must be abolished completely, because 9.43 undercuts union control of hiring and lets the company decide who gets the work and creates a big inequality in the work force. Instead we should have full equalization of work opportunity (including skilled work through paid training for all at PMA expense) under union control, which is what the hiring hall was originally created to provide.

DEFEND LOCAL 54 ON THE PFEL BARGE ISSUE!

On jurisdiction, the caucus demanded that all barge work on lakes, creeks, etc. be ILWU. But it wasn't willing to give any teeth to the resolution. Even after the delegates from Stockton recounted the picketing and job action taken by 54, 10, and 34 and the fines that resulted, not one delegate rose to defend them. What is needed is a resumption of the work stoppage on a coastwide basis so that no local can be isolated--yet even Wing and Stout were silent on this critical issue. Every day we fail to act allows PMA to establish clear precedents that non-ILWU labor loads LASH barges! Local 54 may soon be forced to resume picketing and the entire union must back them up!

STOP DEREGISTRATION OF B-MEN

On the most critical issue--the B men-- the caucus took its worst position. It refused to call for immediate A status for all B men even though the '73 contract provided they would all be registered by '75. Thus the caucus joined Bridges in telling PMA that any time it doesn't like part of the contract it can ignore it. Of course, PMA isn't just ignoring the contract-- it is trying to take the process one step further and de-register B-men on a mass scale!

The Coast LRC is proposing to set up kangaroo courts before which any B-man "in the lower 50% of the 1974 list" must appear to justify why he shouldn't be "de-registered or placed on probation." This agreement (with the International's concurrence) sets the stage for de-registering 150 B-men in SF alone!

This type of secret availability hearing was used to dump eighty two "59 B-men who were de-registered in 1963 in order to strike fear into the remaining B-men who had begun to oppose the destruction of conditions brought about by the M&M contract. If they can hold hearings on men who have met the 70% availability requirements but are still in the bottom 50% of hours worked, then the next step, when the economy hits bottom, will be to try to demote or de-register A-men who are in the lower 50%-- all the guys who don't work 9.43! We must demand full A status for all B men now! Smash the availability kangaroo court! As a first step to mobilize the union to defend the B-men coastwide they should be brought into the union as full voting members now!

WHY THE CAUCUS COLLAPSED

The caucus collapse should come as no surprise to anyone. Not one of the delegates had previously put up a consistent opposition to Bridges on the central issue of containerization and fighting PMA for our jobs. Most of the delegates have a long history of co-operating with Bridges on his sell-outs. Even Loveridge and Rubio, who headed the loyal opposition from Local 13, failed in any significant way to defend the recent strike at Boron which was so badly smashed. They never fought seriously to initiate a longshore boycott of scab Boron products on a local or coastwide basis.

Without a program that sees the interests of PMA as directly counterposed to the interest of the union, it is impossible to build any real opposition to the Bridges machine. That our union leadership sits in joint committees with PMA trying to find ways to run longshoremen off the waterfront is outrageous. The union should be defending B-men, not helping PMA to dump them! We believe the union must get off all joint administrative committees and fight for the waterfront to be run by the longshoremen, not the owners! The waterfront and the entire transport industry, and all major industry has to be expropriated without compensation. We are for workers taking over industry and running it under workers' control. Workers should run the economy and plan transport and production nationally, eliminating the chaos of the present system. This requires a political mobilization of the entire labor movement and the formation of a workers' party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers' government. No one who is committed to anything less can effectively oppose, for very long, the international's policies of co-operating with the companies.

1975: CAN THE UNION WIN A STRIKE ON THE BRINK OF A DEPRESSION?

The answer is yes. We did it in 1934 with 13,000,000 unemployed. The key then and the key now is to fight for demands which are in the interests of all workers, and which are capable of bringing other workers (and the unemployed) out in our defense. No. 1 is a shorter work shift at no loss in pay to create jobs for all. No. 2 is unity against layoffs--no deregistration, A status for all B-men. We need a pay increase of at least $2 per hour and a full C-O-L-A that gives us a 1% wage increase for every 1% increase in inflation. We need workers' control of job opportunity through the union hiring hall to eliminate discrimination--abolish 9.43, full skilled job training for all at PMA expense. We must have the right to stop work over grievances, job conditions and in defense of other non-ILWU workers. Unless we get a contract that gives us these things, the developing Depression will undercut our wages

and conditions, leaving many of us out of work and out of the industry for good.

A STRONG UNION MEANS A FIGHTING LEADERSHIP

As long as our union is run by bureaucrats like Bridges and Chester, who are more concerned about keeping their alliance with Alioto and other capitalist politicians than with defending the membership, our ability to fight PMA is hamstrung. The interest of workers everywhere is completely antagonistic to that of the employers and their political cronies. That is what the program on which we are running for the Local 10 executive board boils down to. Our program, one of uncompromising, independent working class struggle against the employers is the only program that can provide the leadership the ILWU needs. Our struggle against PMA and all other exploiters does not end with a victorious contract struggle, but with the establishment of a workers' government to run society.

To begin this fight, we call for the ILWU to break from politicians like Alioto, who have done our union so much damage, and to break with the Republican and Democratic parties. We need a workers' political party based on the union movement.

It is time to build an opposition in this union that is prepared to fight both PMA and the Bridges machine. Mosley, Smith and Marshall voted with the International on virtually every key issue at the caucus. We need a real opposition that won't cave in; ultimately, an opposition caucus based on our program.

Many brothers in Local 10 have asked us if we are supporting some of the anti-International candidates like Wing, George Kaye, or Archie Brown. No. None of them offer any real alternative program to Bridges. We went through it once with Stout and particularly with Herb Mills and learned that in relation to events like the goon squad and the monitorship, being honest and democratic isn't enough. These brothers failed to organize a real fight to expose the Bridges stooges in order to be able to keep them from disrupting and paralyzing the local for most of the year. We saw Wing give up when the International refused to support the LASH action. He called off the work action before he had even tried to mobilize local and coastwide support for it. And at the caucus he didn't even call for resuming the action coastwide despite the desperate situation facing Stockton.

At the November local meeting, Wing and Stout did not actively support our motion to decisively reject the Feb. 1 deadline and to cancel all negotiations until the April Caucus, after all the locals had time to hammer out demands and strategy.

Those of us who have been around long enough remember that Archie Brown actively supported the deregistration of the B-men in '63 and that he threw his full prestige behind the treacherous M&M contract in 1961. He failed to oppose the continued disastrous sale of our jobs in the 1966 M&M contract. At the Oct. 1970 caucus Brown did not support the Northwest locals' resolution for a 6-hour shift at $10 per hour as the number 1 contract demand; instead he pushed for the limited PGP and the phony container tax. Then, just before the 1973 contract, Brown retreated from his previous total opposition to 9.43 and made a resolution for an equalization of hours formula.

NO COURT SUITS AGAINST THE UNION!

Finally, we want to make clear our position on the use of court suits to settle union affairs. It was pointed out at the coast caucus that further deregistration will likely provoke further suits against the union. While we have always called for the reinstatement of the de-registered '59 B-men with full seniority, we are opposed to anyone suing the union and we demand the suit be dropped. We are equally opposed to court suits to keep Bridges from forcing the sale of the Local 10 hall to Alioto's relatives. While we supported the last such suit, just as we supported Mills and Stout in the last election, both were real mistakes and we've learned enough since then to recognize them as such.

The question of the B-men and the hall has to fought out within the union. To rely on the government to come in and do it for us is worse than futile; it ignores the lesson taught by the Taft-Hartley in the 1971 strike and the government's early attempts to break the IlWU and to deport Bridges. Opening the door to the government is opening the door for it to smash us. The worst enemy of the ILWU and of all labor is the capitalist government.

OUR PROGRAM

A real opposition in this union has to be built on a program that gives it a basis for waging a real fight, against the employers, against the government's constant attempts to smash any display of union militancy, against the sell-out policies of the Bridges leadership.

The basic elements of this program are:

1- For a democratic ILWU--Stop goon-squad tactics! No monitors!

2- Fight against government intervention in our union. No dependence on government investigations or legal suits to decide the affairs of our union.

3- Organize the unorganized.

4- For union control of hiring! Abolish 9.43 completely. Full daily job equalization. Full skilled job training for all at PMA's expense. Full A status for B-men now.

5- A union-wide strike for a shorter work day with no loss in pay to guarantee everyone work and a full paycheck. 6 hours work for 8 hours pay! Keep on sliding the hours down and wages up to create jobs. 100% escalator clause in the contract, adjusted monthly. No cap on the escalator. Full right to strike over job conditions.

6- Fight against racial and sexual discrimination. The union must lead the fight against racial and sexual discrimination.

7- For international and working class solidarity! Solidarity with Chilean workers, UFW and with Boron by refusing to handle specific cargoes. Cooperation, not competition, with foreign longshoremen.

8- Nationalize the longshore-transport industry without compensation. For workers' control!

9- Kick out the union bureaucrats. The unions must lead the struggle for a workers' party to fight for a workers' government.

This program is what is necessary to make the ILWU defend its members' real interests and to put the working class in control of society. These are our goals and we do not intend to stop fighting until both of them are achieved.

Stan Gow 4498 Local 10 Howard Keylor 20447 Local 10

12/31/74 labor donated

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KNC STRIKE SETTLED: A LIMITED VICTORY

Brothers and Sisters: Due to militant rank and file support and the determined unity of English and Spanish speaking strikers, the scabs have been defeated at KNC and the union shop saved. The strike was a gain for the union since the employers were determined to create another Boron at KNC though the contract itself is lousy and a sellout of the militancy and courage of the strikers. A successful attack on the union there would have opened the door for widespread strikebreaking by the Distributor's Association itself.

Members Ignore Injunction

Recognizing the threat, members from the hiring hall, Associated, St. Regis, MJB, Gibraltar and others, including longshoremen, continued to man the picket line despite a court injunction limiting picketing. After the injunction was issued, the Richardson guards got violent, unleashing a dog and continually drawing their guns on pickets. Local 6 members responded sharply: individual stewards at St. Regis and Albers Carnation circulated petitions demanding house meetings with the officers to organize defense. Associated voted to walk off the job if necessary to defend the line against scabs. Faced with this, despite Union City police protection for the scabs who began to appear last Monday, the company decided to resume negotiations.

Inadequate Contract

The contract itself is completely inadequate and the union leadership should have recommended rejection. While it contains certain fringe benefits, it leaves KNC $ 1.10 under scale with no cost of living whatsoever and no pension plan. It also leaves KNC with an October contract expiration date which means that next time they go out they'll be isolated again.

In this period of skyrocketing inflation, mass unemployment and increased union busting, at minimum, Local 6 contracts must include: 1) a wage raise that brings all substandard houses up to standard since sub-scale wages drag down all wages; 2) a full no-cap cost of living allowance which gives us a 1% increase in pay for each 1% increase in prices; 3) the full unrestricted right to strike over job conditions (including layoffs) and in defense of other workers; 4) unlimited rehire rights so that seniority is not lost no matter how long the layoff; 5) a common June 1 contract expiration date with the master contract houses so that the strength of the union is not wasted in endless mini-strikes but instead is brought to bear in unified action.

The present contracts (master and independent) should be junked and reopened. On July 1, when the longshore contract expires, the entire union should strike for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay and a full COLA to deal with massive unemployment due to plant closures, automation, and runaways.

Leadership's Losing Strategy

That McLain, Martin, Villegas and Co. recommended a contract without even these minimal gains is no surprise. They conducted the KNC strike as business as usual, doing everything possible to wear down the strikers' determination. For seven weeks the strikers walked alone, at most 6 people on the picket line.

Even in normal times tiny picket lines don't win strikes easily--last spring Imco, a newly organized house in Union City, was forced to strike for 80 days just to win a new contract because the union leadership did not organize mass picketing from the get-go to back them up. But in hard times like these small picket lines invite company scabherding--and that's what happened at KNC.

The present leadership of Local 6 will occasionally be moved to act militantly to protect the union and their jobs. The day the police attacked the picket line McLain did temporarily call for workers from other houses to join the line. But McLain and Eickman basically believe that in order to survive the union must make peace with the employers and the government or be crushed. Thus, at Thursday's membership meeting McLain pointed out that Cutter Lab is in the process of packing up shop because the union has done too good a job! During the '73 master contract negotiations he and Eickman pushed a 7% wage settlement rather than taking on the wage controls.

Mass Picketing and Boycotts Could Have Won The Strike Outright!

In practice, this attitude means avoiding any militant strategy because it might provoke a confrontation with the employers or the government. With the support they had gotten, the KNC strikers could have won the minimum gains needed in any contract. Had the Local 6 leadership: 1) organized mass picketing on an ongoing basis; 2) informed ILWU longshore locals and the IBT of scab goods shipments so they could be stopped permanently; and 3) called on the ranks of Bay Area labor to join the line by the thousands to defend against strikebreaking by injunction; the strike would have been decisively won. Instead the leadership tabled our motions at the Stewards Council for mass picketing, not handling scab goods and resisting the injunction.

This passivity left the company in a good position to threaten the strikers. In the final negotiations, they were told that if they rejected the offer "they'd all be in jail" and "the strike would last another four months." Understanding that they had at least saved the union at KNC, uncertain that they would get ongoing support, 17 members voted to return to work while 5 insisted to the end that the contract should be rejected.

Strike Support Committee

At the union meeting Thursday night, we presented these arguments and tried to introduce two resolutions which are first steps to strengthening the union. The first was that in all upcoming collective bargaining, the Local would fight for all contracts to expire in common with the master contract on June 1, 1976. The second was to establish "a strike support committee open to the whole membership to aid the Executive Officers in the co-ordination of publicity, defense and fundraising for ILWU strikes and whatever other labor struggles the membership deems fit." With Pfizer's contract up, and Nabco and others already in negotiation, we must establish an official committee through which the membership can be mobilized to defend these strikes as they defended KNC. We must also see to it that the unemployed members from the hall who walked the lines be repaid for transportation as the stewards recommended to the Board of Trustees.

Union Meeting Disrupted

The leadership's response to the debate on KNC and the two proposals was open hostility. Unwilling to take the steps necessary to defeat the employer, they attack those who will. At one point, a supporter of the officials grabbed the mike away from John Dow to prevent him from describing how he tried to organize a house meeting at Carnation about KNC. Protests from the floor finally forced him to let Dow continue. BA Johnson then attacked us for criticizing the union--we didn't! We criticized the <u>leadership</u> for not <u>defending</u> the union!

Finally, another friend of the officials made a veiled demand that people who criticize the leadership be expelled from the union! This expulsion threat was repeated in the form of a "warning" after the meeting by International Sec'y.-Treas. Goldblatt. Such threats cannot be lightly dismissed--they pose a danger to the freedom of discussion of any member of this union who disagrees in any way with the leadership's policy; without free discussion, we cannot agree on a unified plan of action, our only defense against the

companies. The leadership should stop threatening its critics and get on with the business of winning Pfizer and the others a good contract!

For Workers' Solidarity We Need a Class-struggle Leadership!

At the union meeting, Goldblatt stated that U.S. workers, U.S. corporations and the U.S. government all have something to unite against-- "foreign" money which is"turning the U.S. into a colony." This dangerous nonsense can set worker against worker along national lines, lead to the mass deportation of Spanish-speaking workers, and set the stage for a new war. It obscures the fact that U.S. corporations and their government are primarily responsible for the current depression and remain the No.1 exploiters of workers throughout the world.

Goldblatt's implicit support to the government's anti-foreign propaganda ignores the basic lesson of the KNC strike: the government and its police are not neutral, they are our enemies; it is only the unity of English-speaking with non-English speaking workers at KNC which allowed us to stand up to the scabs.

For a fleeting moment on Wednesday and Thursday, January 8th and 9th, the officials adopted the tactics of class-struggle unionism: boycotts of scab goods and mass picketing. The defeat of the scabs came largely because of this brief but important show of militancy. We need to build a new leadership in the ILWU which is willing to carry these class-struggle tactics through: to win a full COLA, parity for substandard houses, unlimited rehire rights, a joint contract expiration date for all houses, the unlimited right to strike, and a shorter work week at no loss in pay to create jobs for all. To do so, this leadership must recognize that the government is no friend of labor and that labor must break with the political parties of big business to form a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Late Bulletin: We just learned that Pfizer settled. The contract terms, recommended by McLain and Villegas, were completely inadequate. They got 60, 50 and absolutely no cost-of-living allowance.

OUR PROGRAM

We've seen supporters both of People's World and Warehouse Victory advance partial programs which boil down to silence on critical issues or outright support to the present leadership. We need to build a real alternative in the ILWU based on a class struggle program. To defend the union what is required is a caucus built on the following program:

1.)For a democratic ILWU-- no restrictions on election campaign literature or on discussion inside the union.
2.)No government intervention in our union. No court suits against the union.
3.)Organize the unorganized throughout the country and over the Mexican border as part of our fight against runaways.
4.)For union control of hiring! Abolish the probation period, smash the blacklist. No tests, no interviews-- dispatch means a job. Bring all houses under the hiring hall. For unity against the employer, black books to all red books and work cards now!
5.)A union-wide strike for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. 30-for-40! A full 100% cost-of-living clause with no cap.Jobs for all!
6.)Fight racial and sexual discrimination! Equal pay for equal work-- abolish the "light" and "heavy" pay categories. Fight deportations of Spanish-speaking workers.
7.)Organize workers for self-defense-- mass picketing and other necessary means to defend against scabs, goons, or the police.
8.) For International Working Class Solidarity with Chilean workers, UFW and Boron by refusing to handle specific scab cargoes. Labor strikes against U.S. intervention in Vietnam or the Mideast!
9.)Nationalize the longshore-warehouse industry without paying the bosses compensation. Workers' control! House committee inspection of company books.
10.)Kick out the union bureaucrats. Break with the Republicans and Democrats to form a workers party to fight for a workers government.

John Dow,Steward, #2855
Bob Mandel,Member GEB,#5734
Pete Farruggio,#11036

For more information call: 531-9628

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LONGSHORE MILITANT

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Phone:(415) 824-0439 San Francisco,Ca. Labor donated

LA REJECTS CONTRACT! CANADA ON STRIKE!

Longshoremen!

Canadian ILWU Longshoremen struck Saturday at midnight. With Los Angeles Local 13 vetoing Bridges' union-busting contract, we have a rare chance to organize the first coastwide International contract fight in the West Coast's history.

We must stop cold all cargo the employers try to divert from Canada to U.S. ports. If the employers move to lock out Portland, Seattle, or any other port refusing to handle diverted cargo, we should all walk out. In the past, the PMA has not only intimidated us intoscabbing on our Canadian brothers, but many times has locked out a U.S. port (Los Angeles, Portland), diverted cargo to other ports, and threatened us with a coastwide lock-out if we supported our brother longshoremen. We can't let this go on any longer.

We must defeat this phony sell-out U.S. longshore contract hands down on the second vote! We must recall and replace the caucus which recommended it; elect a new negotiating commitee without Bridges, Chester, Ward and Huntsinger; and put new demands to the PMA that will save our jobs and keep us alive. The ship owners and stevedoring companies have shown they will resist. At this point we'll have to strike if we are going to win the necessary demands: 6 hours work for 8 hours pay to spread the work to all of us. Abolish 9.43, crane supplement and CFS steady utility men. Full right to strike. Full A status for all B men, now. A common expiration date for U.S. and Canadian contracts. 100% automatic escalator clause. If we go for any slight variation of the new work rules in this package and a few more dimes in wages, we're setting ourselves up for total demoralization and defeat. Then, if we ever get another chance it may be too late. We'll really be chained to the "company store"!

We say, arm our new negotiating commitee with a strike vote, make preparations for an effective strike and if the PMA stalls while they shift cargo to the Gulf and East Coasts, we should shut down the coast along with Canada.

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Bridges Crosses ILWU Office Workers' Picket Line

Harry Bridges just got his picture in the San Francisco Chronicle crossing a picket line (S.F. Chronicle page 3, Feb. 27). All of the ILWU office workers in the Bay Area (Office and Professional Employees Union, Local 29) have been forced out on strike. Their contract expired Nov. 1. If this strike goes on much longer, our union will acquire the reputation of being scab herders and strike breakers. The ranks of the ILWU hate scabs but many of our union officials, who spend part of their day doing the office workers work, don't seem to mind crossing picket lines. The office workers say the ILWU officials are refusing to negotiate with them and everything we've found out indicates they are telling the truth. Motions were defeated or prevented from coming to the floor for discussion and vote in the Executive Boards of both Local 6 and 10 to resume negotiations immediately. The Bridges bureaucracy seems to want a long strike. The Feb. 27th S.F. Chronicle quotes office workers as saying:

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VICTORY FOR THE UNION! CENSURE OF MILITANT REJECTED BY MEMBERSHIP!

The East Bay division meeting of Local 6 (California, Bay Area warehouse) at its last regular meeting decisively rejected the local's GEB censure of Bob Mandel, a member of the GEB and of the Militant Caucus. This action by the largest division of the local, and by the division that was the scene of the KNC strike, represents not only the failure of Local 6 officials to make their cowardly censure stick, but an endorsement by the membership of those militant tactics called for by Brother Mandel and others that won a victory for the union at KNC. Now we can see our union go forward winning strikes through mass picket lines and the refusal to handle struck goods. These are the tactics that won the KNC strike.

Bridges Crosses Picket Line (Continued from pg.1)

"Harry made it a point to go through our lines at every local office yesterday" one woman said.
"Yes, and he told us to hang in there, "the first three months are the worst," another vexed striker added. "He thinks that's funny. Most of us have kids to support, and this is serious."

Bridges is treating the members of OPEU 29 with the same contempt he's shown working longshoremen for years. Reportedly a delegation from Hawaii arrived at the ILWU's International headquarters to find the International headquarters surrounded by a picket line. To their credit they went back to the hotel and did their business by telephone. The crew of bureaucrats engaging in this public union busting operation are using the strike as an excuse to abolish the rights of the Bay Area warehousemen and longshoremen. They want a long strike because the office workers being out is a convenient excuse to cancel all the rights of the rank-and-file during a contract period. Already Local 6 (warehouse division) has seen all membership meetings cancelled until the end of the strike and its local constitutional convention postponed until June 7! We've never seen a cruder ploy used to keep warehouse from linking up with longshore in the event of a longshore strike! We demand that the ILWU leadership settle immediately on at least the office workers terms. What they are asking is less than the office workers of other Bay Area unions already make!

* *

L.A. Rejects Contract (Continued from pg.1)

Even if we vote down this proposed contract the second time, unless we make the decision to strike and replace the present International negotiating committee, the present International-dominated leadership will continue to diddle around with nickle and dime stuff, wear out the membership in repeated votes on similar sell-out contracts until we finally give up.

Some union members are arguing that we should reject the contract but not strike. It would be dishonest and dangerous not to face up to the fact that repeated bad contracts (M&M, 9.43, etc.) have pushed us to the wall. We are at the point where we have to fight forour union and our jobs. No one should delude themselves into thinking that we can get a better deal than PMA is offering right now without a strike.

To brothers who are uncertain about the contract, who don't believe that Bridges will sell us out, look at the statistics on San Francisco steadymen. While hundreds of us try desperately to survive on the PGP, about 5 hundred 9.43 and other steadymen are getting twice the hours of hallmen; each 9.43 man literally doing the work of two men. Yet this new contract would maintain and extend the steadyman system, laying the basis for driving hundreds of us off the docks!

Bridges needs a 2/3 vote in round two to get ratification. In the first round he got 2/3 plus 12. Most of those votes came from the small ports and clerks locals where the membership, misled by Bridges' raz-ma-taz about no layoffs, voted yes. Right now rank-and-file militants are informing our brothers to the north that the contract specifically allows layoffs if "unusual circumstances" like a depression "develop."

In the Bay Area and L.A. there has been much uncertainty about whether a successful strike can be waged. Canada has struck the first blow. Now we must back them up by stopping all diverted cargo. It would be a disaster for the ILWU to scab on its own Canadian strike. This past summer the ILWU lost 400 jobs to scabs in Boron California because other ILWU locals WITH THE INTERNATIONAL'S ACQUIESCENCE handled scab-produced Borax goods. Fortune magazine turned the company's victory into a manual on how to bust unions in their December 1974 issue. Now, before it is too late, we must state clearly "an injury to one is an injury to all." Don't handle struck goods or diverted cargo!

We must beware of provocations by either PMA or the International. Trying desperately to divert attention from the contract sellout, the International provoked an office workers strike on which it is trying to blame the

(Continued on pg.3)

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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Phone: (415) 824-0439 San Francisco, CA. labor donated

CANADIAN LONGSHOREMEN ASK U.S. BROTHERS: DO NOT HANDLE STRIKE BOUND DIVERTED CARGO!

"Striking B-C longshoremen will ask the union dockers in Seattle to block any attempt by shipping firms to re route container traffic through the U.S. port.

Frank Kennedy, Canadian area Secretary Treasurer of the International Longshoremans and Warehousemans Union, said he expects the U.S. longshoremen to comply with the request.

About 4,000 longshoremen have been on strike since midnight, Saturday, tying up 11 B.C. ports. The handling of container cargo is one of the main issues of the strike.

Kennedy told the Vancouver and District Labor Council, 'there's no doubt that companies can divert local container traffic to Seattle during the strike.'

'But if they try to do so, that's going to become part of our strike. We are going to ask our American brothers to support us across the line, and I don't think there will be any trouble getting them to go along.'"

Vancouver Sun, Mar. 5, 1975
(page 41)

Since midnight Saturday March 1st Canadian longshoremen have been on strike. For a week there was an almost complete news blackout. We found that not only rank and file longshoremen but many officers in San Francisco and L.A. knew nothing about the strike of our Canadian ILWU brothers. While Brother Gow was in Seattle and Tacoma last week he heard that Canadian strike-bound cargo was being handled in those ports. Shaun Maloney, president of Seattle longshore Local 19, was shown on Vancouver TV stating that his local will stop loading diverted cargo "only if the International orders us to." This information is still virtually unknown throughout the union outside the Vancouver area.

Negotiations had been going on for five months, two months after the Canadian contract expired (12/31/74), and a strike vote was taken in mid-January. In the last week and a half of negotiations the Maritime Employers Association (M.E.A.) brought in the demand that ILWU jurisdiction over container stuffing and unstuffing be given up. Container facilities in Vancouver are currently being expanded, and if the employers succeed in taking the jurisdiction over stuffing away from our union, jobs in Canada will be drastically cut back. This is the Canadian version of the original U.S. M&M contract, only much worse. Already the pages of the Vancouver press are full of articles supporting the Maritime Employers Association and demanding Canadian Government legislation to break our Canadian brothers' strike.

This week Federal mediator William Kelly is coming in to deal with the strike. This mediator is the same one who during the last Canadian longshore strike recommended legislation to end the strike.

One thing is clear: this threat to Canadian longshoremen must be beaten back. U.S. longshoremen must refuse to handle diverted cargo and make it clear that we are prepared to stand firm with the Canadian ILWU against government intervention. Seattle and Tacoma have to know that if they refuse to handle diverted cargo and are locked out or fined the whole U.S. coast will go out with them. We must put the full resources of the union behind the Canadian strike! An injury to one is an injury to all!

(Continued on p. 2)

We are planning to offer this motion at this Thursday's Local 10 executive committee meeting and at next week's membership meeting. We urge all Local 10 members to give it their support.

MOTION IN SUPPORT OF THE CANADIAN LONGSHORE STRIKE

Local 10 goes on record that we will give full support to our brother ILWU Canadian Longshoremen who are on strike by not working cargo diverted from Canadian ports. We call on all other ILWU Longshore locals to likewise refuse to handle strike-bound diverted cargo. U.S. Longshoremen must not assist the shippers in breaking our Canadian strike. We demand that the International give full support to the Canadian ILWU and to all U.S. ports refusing to handle diverted cargo. We assure our Canadian brothers that the entire ILWU will act to support them against any government intervention directed against the Longshore strike.

Canadian Longshore...(Continued from pg.1)

THE INTERNATIONAL'S RESPONSE TO THE STRIKE

What is going on? Why haven't the International officers assured Canada of our support? Why hasn't the International called upon the U.S. Coast Longshore locals to pledge not to load the diverted cargo? Why hasn't the longshore caucus been called into emergency session to act decisively to prevent our helping to break the Canadian longshore strike?

The answer is perfectly clear. Bridges, Chester, Goldblatt, Huntsinger, Ward and Co. have no intention of fighting to preserve this union. They will never organize real support for the Canadian longshoremen. Their record shows that they are willing to allow our union to be weakened, isolated and defeated piece by piece, area by area, local by local until we are forced to go begging the Teamsters and the ILA to take the pieces still left.

Last summer's Boron strike proved this. ILWU Local 30 members at Boron were being shot down on the picket line (2 were wounded), many arrested and jailed, scabs by the hundreds working inside and an army of goons and sherrif's deputies were assembled to break the strike. Not once did the International officers authorize Los Angeles Longshore Local 13 to refuse to load scab produced Borax. In fact, when Local 30 (Boron) finally picketted the docks, Bridges directed Local 13 to obey an arbitration ruling that they must scab on another ILWU local! We all know the outcome. 400 of 800 jobs were lost to scabs and Local 30 was decisively smashed.

While Stan was in Canada, brothers on the picket lines told him the International was already making noises like the ones they pulled to sabotage our strike in '71-'72. They told him that the International gave specific orders to unload a cargo of perishables (meat) after the strike began. About 50 men were dispatched to work the cargo, but a meeting of longshoremen at dockside decided to hold the strike solid, last we heard. That meat is still sitting in the harbor in British Colubia where it belongs!

In our '71 strike the International's first move was to unload perishables. Next it was to unload commercial cargo from PMA ships so that these ships could be used to haul military cargo. Next thing we knew these ships were carrying commercial cargo around our picket lines to Ensenada and Canada where the cargo was trucked across the borders.

In spite of threats from the Canadian government, the Canadian longshoremen offered to refuse to work cargo diverted from the U.S. during the

strike if they were asked. During the crucial first three months of the strike, no such request or appeal ever came from the International dominated Caost strike Committee!

THE INTERNATIONAL: ARCHITECTS OF DEFEAT

It was the betrayal of the '71-'72 strike, the absolute unwillingness to defend Boron against strike-breaking, that encouraged the present Coastwide assault on the ILWU. It is because Bridges will not even put up a token defense (like backing up Stockton and San Francisco when they tried to carry out the caucus resolution to fight the work on the PFEL-LASH barges) that gave the employers the self-confidence to offer us this rotten contract.

It appears that the Canadian shippers decided to try to smash the ILWU container jurisdiction (Canada fought for and won in their contracts all stuffing and unstuffing of containers within 100 miles of the docks) because they knew they could count on Bridges and Co. to order Seattle and Tacoma to scab.

THE SITUATION IN CANADA

Canadian longshoremen seem to have the same problems we do with a reformist leadership that isn't willing to fight 100%. With a history of more active struggle against the employers, British Columbia has a generally more militant labor movement than we usually see in this country. The threat of Canadian employers trying to break the container stuffing jurisdiction is enough to make anyone short of our cynical International leadership want to fight. While Canadian Secretary-Treasurer Frank Kennedy has publicly asked U.S. longshoremen not to handle diverted cargo, no attempt has been made from Canada to break the U.S. news black-out about the Canadian strike. What the Canadian longshoremen have to do is issue appeals in Seattle, Tacoma and other ports directed at U.S. longshoremen urging them not to handle diverted cargo. If Canadian longshoremen set up picket lines at U.S. docks where cargo was being diverted, U.S. longshoremen would not cross their picket lines. The Canadian leadership hasn't done this because they don't want to cross the International. By working two months without a contract and declaring openly in mid-January, "No thought is being given to a strike" (Don Garcia, Canadian area president) they gave the employer a feeling of security that emboldened them to try to break the union jurisdiction on the container work. When we got to Canada the rank-and-file had never even seen a union bulletin on what the employer was offering and what the union was asking. It's an outrageous bureaucratic trick to keep the rank-and-file in the dark about the terms they are striking over! Vancouver longshoremen were glad to see Longshore Militant No. 1 and are passing them around inside the union. Vancouver local president Roy Smith had Stan Gow thrown out of the hall and intimidated longshoremen into returning their copies of the Longshore Militant. Two refused to give up their copies and left in a hurry with us to avoid the goon squad. It all sounds pretty familiar; the rank-and-file wants to fight; the officials want to keep them in the dark and isolated.

What does all this boil down to? We must refuse to handle any diverted cargo! If the employers lock one port out for defending our brothers in Canada, the entire coast must be shut down. No more Borons -- no more picking us off one by one. In Local 6, militant warehousemen led by the Militant Caucus defeated strike-breaking and scabbing at KNC Glass in Union City. With the power of 11,700 U.S. longshoremen we can defend Canadian longshoremen. If the threat of government intervention becomes a reality the Canadian ILWU should call for a British Columbia-wide general strike by all of labor and the U.S. ILWU should close the rest of the coast down in support of them.

Every effort has been made by our International leadership to keep mainland longshoremen, Hawaiian and Canadian longshoremen, warehousemen and Hawaiian plantation workers from a combined fight to defend their jurisdiction, manning, wages and jobs. At the April 7 ILWU Convention in Vancouver, damands must be raised by our delegates for a new class-struggle leadership and a union-wide fight against the employers' drive to weaken our union and drive many of us into the ranks of the unemployed. The Convention must plan a union-wide strike for 30 hours work at 40 hours pay with a full COLA to mobilize the ILWU -- 60,000 strong in a struggle to ensure our livelihoods.

CONTRACT REJECTED!

The Bridges-PMA contract proposal has just been rejected by the membership vote: 6131 yes, 3132 no. This was 47 votes short -- 1/2 of 1%-of the 2/3 majority required to override the L.A. veto. Local 10's vote represented a real turn-around-- 1,092 yes to 811 no on the first vote -- 962 yes to 1192 no on the second. 521 Local 10 members changed their minds -- a big shift like that is no accident. While we were in L.A. we found that the members are particularly concerned about 9.43. In Los Angeles, in the last year, hours for board men have declined drastically while 9.43 men rake it in.

The ranks are also fed up with the PGP since it not only will go quickly bankrupt, but will rob them of control over job categories and the ability to use job actions to defend union conditions.

What will Bridges do now? With the two largest ports on the coast rejecting the contract by sound majorities, we don't think longshoremen should sit around waiting for Bridges to act. We must prepare for a union-wide strike to win jobs for all ILWU members.

First, at next week's membership meeting, we have to deal with Canada and our contract. At the meeting we must adopt a resolution not to handle scab cargo and call on all other locals to join us.

Second, we must adopt a new set of contract demands -- ones which can defend our livelihoods, our families and our job conditions.

1. JOBS FOR ALL -- NO LAYOFFS! A shorter work day with no loss in shift pay to guarantee everyone work and a full paycheck. 6 hours work for 8 hours pay! No extended shifts! And keep on sliding the hours down and the wages up to create jobs!
2. 100% automatic escalator clause in the contract, the rise in the cost of living calculated monthly. No limit on the escalator!
3. Abolish 9.43 completely. Abolish the request system for clerks. Full daily job equalization. Full skilled job training for all, controlled by the union and at PMA expense!
4. Full A status for B men now! No deregistration of A or B men!
5. Full right to strike over work conditions and union issues!
6. Common expiration dates for all ILWU longshoremen (in U.S., Canada, Alaska, and Hawaii).

Third, we must recall the present caucus and elect a new slate of militants who will fight to defend the union.

Fourth, we must direct our new caucus delegates to move immediately to dump the present negotiating committee and elect a new one pledged to fight for our contract demands.

Finally, the first steps must be taken to arm the new negotiating committee with a strike vote so that they have the full power of the union behind them when they sit down with PMA. Let us have no illusions. Those who are saying that we can get a better contract without a strike are ignoring hard facts -- there is a depression on. The employers and the government are out to bust the union movement. We will only be able to defend ourselves by the kinds of aggressive strike action taken in '34 and '48.

Brother, we have a big opportunity to reverse the losses our union has suffered over the years. Never before has there been a coast-wide U.S.-Canadian longshore strike. Hawaii is currently negotiating-- they should join us too. In fact, we should call on ILWU warehousemen who are deeply dissatisfied with the sell-out that was forced on them in '73 to come out too. <u>60,000 ILWU members in the first coastwide cross division strike in history can have a mighty impact.</u> Together we can win jobs for all ILWU members and make our union even stronger than it was in '34.

* *

RALLY-DEFEND THE CANADIAN LONGSHORE STRIKE!

COME AND SHOW YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE CANADIAN LONGSHORE STRIKE!!

PAYLINES: FRIDAY, MARCH 14 6-8 AM

TO ALL MEMBERS & CASUALS OF THE ILWU

MARCH 18, 1975

Brothers:

Tuesday, March 18, through personal contact between rank and file longshoremen in New West and friends who are members of the ILWU, Local 10 and Local 6 in California, we received the following telegram:

TO LOCALS 500, 502 AND 514:

ILWU LOCAL 10 EXECUTIVE BOARD PASSED A MOTION MARCH 13th NOT TO HANDLE DIVERTED CARGO DURING YOUR STRIKE, IF AN OFFICIAL REQUEST IS MADE BY CANADIAN ILWU.
WE ARE CALLING ON THE INTERNATIONAL OTHER LOCALS TO DO THE SAME AND AND PLEDGING FULL STRENGTH OF THE UNION TO DEFEND AGAINST THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION. THIS MOTION WILL BE RAISED AGAIN AT LOCALS 10 AND 6 MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS THIS WEEK.
MILITANT CLERKS, LONGSHOREMEN AND WAREHOUSEMEN HELD RALLY MARCH 14th IN SAN FRANCISCO CALLING FOR NO HANDLING OF DIVERTED CARGO. WE URGE ALL CANADIAN LOCALS TO IMMEDIATELY MAKE OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC APPEALS TO ALL U.S. ILWU LOCALS TO REFUSE TO HANDLE DIVERTED CARGO.

STAN GOW (MEMBER LOCAL 10, EXECUTIVE)
HOWARD KEYLOR (LOCAL 10, STEWARD)
BOB MANDEL (LOCAL 6, EXECUTIVE)
JOHN DOW (STEWARD)
PETER FARRUGGIO

We don't yet know the proposed terms of the new contract as mediated by the federal Assistant Deputy Labour Minister, Kelly. Therefore, of course, no one can say yet if there is a NEED to continue the strike.

But there is a need that we all be informed that some of the U.S. locals do support us. Before deciding whether to continue with the strike, it is essential that we all realize that the locals of some of our brothers in the States are willing not to touch cargo destined for Canada and that they have pledged their solidarity with our struggle on this side of the border.

It may seem strange to some members that casuals would be the ones to be passing on this information. However, whether we have membership status or not, longshoring is our livelihood; and although we have no say in whether this contract is accepted or not, the contract will affect casuals as much as it does members.

Bob Everton, casual, "C Board", Local 502,

Carl Christenson, casual, "A Board, Local 502.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

Issue no. 3 Published by Stan Gow & Howard Keylor Mar. 19,1975

Phone: 824-0439 San Francisco, CA. labor donated

SOLIDARITY WITH CANADA!

DIVERTED CARGO AND THE U.S. LONGSHORE CONTRACT

Concern in the local is growing over the Canadian strike, and especially over the issue of US longshoremen handling diverted cargo. Our rally last Friday at the Pay Line didn't draw hundreds of union members, but it got the word out to a lot of members, and it made the point that a lot of brothers throughout the different divisions of the union want to see the union win the Canadian strike, and they are willing to do something about it!

At last week's Local 10 Executive Board meeting we introduced a motion stating that the local would refuse to handle cargo diverted as a result of our Canadian strike:

" Local 10 goes on record that we will give full support to our brother ILWU Canadian Longshoremen who are on strike by not working cargo diverted from Canadian ports. We call on all other ILWU Longshore locals to likewise refuse to handle strike-bound diverted cargo. US Longshoremen must not assist the shippers in breaking our Canadian strike. We demand that the International give full support to the Canadian ILWU and to all US ports refusing to handle diverted cargo. We assure our Canadian brothers that the entire ILWU will act to support them against any government intervention directed against the Longshore strike. "

This motion would give real support to our brothers in Canada who are striking to save their jobs. Our motion was undercut by an amendment offered by Archie Brown that basically took the teeth out of the motion and turned it into a nice but ineffectual gesture:

" Local 10 pledges full support to the striking Canadian longshoremen, up to and including refusal to handle diverted cargo whenever the Canadian longshoremen request it."

This amendment was so obviously intended to undercut our motion of active solidarity with our Canadian brothers that even the most right-wing pro-international executive board members voted for it. Stan Gow, Al Boussard and others opposed the amendment, but with the support of the International's camp, it passed. Al Broussard made a motion, which passed, that a letter or telegram be sent immediately to inform the Canadian locals of this motion. Brother Brown made it clear that his amendment meant doing virtually nothing to support the Canadian strike. He argued that it's up to the rank and file in Canada to fight to force their union officials to make an appeal to US locals through the official union channels. This lets the International off the hook. Remember that during our last strike the Canadian officials made the same offer: Canada would refuse to handle diverted cargo when the US union made an official request. It was 3 monthes before the US ILWU leadership made the request, there were only 10 days left in our strike, and by then the employers had us beat, thanks to the Bridges defeatist policies.

Why should we be put in the position of scabbing while some Canadian officials drag their feet about an official request? The Brown amendment also says nothing about appealing to other ports to make the same decision, and it offers no help against

government attempts at strikebreaking. Brother Brown's amendment also lets the International off the hook. Our motion demands that the International officers give full support to the Canadian longshoremen and to all US ports that refuse to handle diverted cargo.

There's another point to be made: brothers who are opposed to a motion should vote against it and take responsibility for their own positions, instead of using the back-door route of amending someone else's motion to death!

We will offer our original motion at the Thursday night membership meeting in the place of this "pass-the-buck" amendment. We urge all union members to come to the union meeting and vote for solidarity with our Canadian brothers! It's particularly important to urge other ports to not handle diverted cargo, because while a small amount might go through the Bay Area, the really significant amounts of diverted cargo will be channeled in through Northwest ports, mainly Seattle and Tacoma. Also, a demand that the International back up the locals that refuse to handle diverted cargo is vital, since the Seattle local president went on TV saying that they would refuse to handle it <u>if</u> the International gave them the go-ahead. If everyone just passes the buck, the Canadian longshore strike is going to get sold out the same way our last strike was. This union cannot afford another defeat. If the shippers force a rotten contract on the Canadian longshoremen, they will feel that much stronger in dealing with us on the US contract. As someone once said, "either we all hang together, or we will surely all hang separately!"

NEWS FROM CANADA

Canada has been in the midst of a strike wave for some time now. Wage settlements have been averaging 20% for the last quarter of 1974. For those who think we can't win anything by striking, compare that 20% with the 8% or 9% average of US wage settlements. This is largely because we've had a lot fewer strikes in the US. The Canadian capitalists are anxious to end strikes and stop wage increases, and so their politicians and their government are moving to launch a vicious assault on the labor movement. New strike-breaking and union-busting legislation is now being debated by the Canadian parliament. In British Columbia, public employees are preparing to go out Friday. Anti-strike laws aimed at the ILWU and the public employees are a real possibility. The best defense for the Canadian labor movement is mass labor solidarity against government intervention.

At the beginning of the week it was announced that the employers and the Canadian union negotiating committee had reached agreement on a package and were prepared to recommend acceptance to the ranks. The contract was described to us as "a compromise on the container stuffing issue." If it's like most of the compromises we've seen lately in this union, all that it compromises is longshoremen's jobs! The contract includes a totally inadequate pay guarantee (SUB).

The Canadian longshore caucus has been called into session, and there is apparently resistance to the offer there. If it gets through the caucus, it might come to a membership vote by Friday of this week at the very earliest. We hope they turn it down just like US longshoremen refused to ratify PMA's latest rotten contract offer. Things have been pretty militant up there, and particularly if Local 10 passes a solid motion of support with some teeth in it, the Canadian ranks could rally the strength to reject the offer and decisively defeat the shippers and the government. In Canada the membership is under the impression that official appeals have already been made to US longshore locals not to handle diverted cargo. They don't understand why US longshoremen continue to scab on their strike. The Canadian leadership is trying to keep their membership in the dark just as Bridges has tried to suppress news of the Canadian strike in the US. We sent a telegram to 3 Canadian locals involved:

To Local 500, 502, and 514:

"ILWU Local 10 Executive Board passed a motion March 13 not to handle diverted cargo during your strike. If an official

"request is made by Canadian ILWU. This was a motion made by Archie Brown as a substitute for a stronger motion by Stan Gow that calls for 10 refusing to handle diverted cargo starting immediately, calling on the International other locals to do the same and pledging full strength of the union to defend against the Canadian government intervention. This motion will be raised again 10 and 6 membership meeting this week. Militant clerks, longshoremen, and warehousemen held rally March 14th in San Francisco calling for no handling of diverted cargo. We urge all Canadian locals to immediately make official and public appeals to all US ILWU locals to refuse to handle diverted cargo.

For the Longshore Militant: Stan Gow (member Local 10 Exec), Howard Keylor (Local 10 steward) For the Militant Caucus (Warehouse) Bob Mandel (member Local 6 Exec) John Dow (steward) Peter Farruggio . "

THE US LONGSHORE CONTRACT

Remember, we've got our own contract to worry about. If the employers beat us in Canada, they're going to feel a lot more secure in dealing with the union down here. Now there are some people who spend a lot of time lamenting the fact that talk about a US longshore strike will frighten the shippers. Half our problem is that the shippers are not the least bit impressed with our union. They're not frightened enough to treat the union with respect. So when our local union officials took a position against the deregistration of B-men in the latest hearings, the PMA didn't back off. Now they've come at the union from another direction on the same issue. Now B-men will have to apply for A status, and on their applications they have to state what outside jobs they've held. The penalty for falsification is DEREGISTRATION. The union has opposed this but PMA won't stop. PMA is still planning to deregister about half of our B men... now on frame up charges of chiseling on the PGP. As if anyone could feed his kids on the B men's 24-hour guarantee. The whole thing's a set-up.

If we let PMA get away with it next they will be making A men fill out forms about outside work, and there will be a lot fewer A men around here too. What PMA is looking for is all steady men running the docks. So its time we scared the shippers into respecting longshoremen and their union. It's time we did more than just scare them. We've got to beat them in a strike. If they want to divert cargo when we close the whole coast down, we should send delegations to the ILA ports to appeal to the rank and file to back us up with action. Unless our next contract has immediate A registration for all B men, (NO APPLICATIONS, NO EXCEPTIONS) we're going to see a lot more deregistrations around here. It's time for the union to stop holding hands with PMA and start fighting.

MORE INTERNATIONAL DIRTY TRICKS?

Is the proposed contract which we just rejected going to be shoved down our throats? The Local just received a letter from the International telling us that the present contract will remain in force until July 1 unless the April caucus takes other other action. That means that the International might try to get the April caucus to change the rules and declare the contract accepted. Nothing doing! We voted it down once and it's going to stay voted down!

AT THE MEETING THURS. NIGHT WE WILL INTRODUCE A MOTION TO RECALL THE CAUCUS, ELECT NEW CAUCUS DELEGATES, ELECT A NEW NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE, AND ARM OUR NEGOTIATORS WITH A STRIKE VOTE.

SEE BACK PAGE FOR OUR CONTRACT DEMANDS

OUR CONTRACT DEMANDS

1- JOBS FOR ALL-- NO LAYOFFS! A shorter work day with no loss in shift pay to guarantee everyone work and a full paycheck. 6 hours work for 8 hours pay! No extended shifts! And keep on sliding the hours down and the wages up to create jobs!
2- 100% automatic escalator clause in the contract, the rise in the cost-of-living calculated monthly. No limit on the escalator!
3- Abolish 9.43 completely. Abolish the request system for clerks. Full daily job equalization. Full skilled job training for all, controlled by the union and at PMA expense!
4- Full A status for B men now! No deregistration of A or B men!
5- Full right to strike over work conditions and union issues!
6- Common expiration dates for all ILWU longshoremen (in US, Canada, Alaska, and Hawaii).

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DONATE TO THE LONGSHORE MILITANT

To keep on publishing we need membership contributions. Brothers have been very good about making financial contributions so far, and a few dollars here and there really makes a difference. We just got four new subscriptions in from brothers up and down the coast. The advantage of subscribing is that you don't risk missing an issue. You can also send a subscription to friends in the union who live elsewhere. At $1 for 10 issues it's a bargain!

Send subs to: LONGSHORE MILITANT
P.O. BOX 33
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LONGSHORE MILITANT

Issue no. 4 Published by Stan Gow & Howard Keylor Mar. 26, 1975

Phone: 824-0439 San Francisco, CA. Labor donated

CANADIAN CONTRACT VOTED DOWN!

Government Threatens Strikebreaking!

Harry Bridges announced at last Thursday's Local 10 meeting that the Canadian strike was settled. Saturday the Canadian ILWU rejected the contract offer by a 55% majority! However, an attempt is being made to settle the strike right now--by Canadian government strikebreaking! Parliament is passing legislation today aimed at forcing our brothers back to work without the right to strike for at least one year and giving an arbitrator the right to make any changes he deems fit in the contract.

There is only one fitting response to this: The entire ILWU coastwide should strike in defense of our Canadian section and call on the rest of British Columbia labor to mount a general strike against government strikebreaking. Our International Convention, which takes place less than two weeks from now in Vancouver itself, should undertake to organize this strike on an effective, militant coastwide basis.

Bridges' stance on the Canadian strike makes such action by the Convention extremely unlikely unless the rank-and-file asserts itself. Bridges told us that diverted cargo is not an issue. He stated flatly no cargo was being diverted. We know of at least two rank-and-file leaflets issued in Canada demanding that their union officials make immediate and public appeals to U.S. longshoremen not to handle diverted cargo. Why? Because the Canadians know that a flood of struck steel, coffee and other cargos is presently being unloaded in Seattle and moved by train and truck to Canada. As things stand, the Canadian membership wants help from us on the diverted cargo issue while most of their officials are co-operating with the International to prevent any action from being taken by U.S. longshoremen.

Bridges statements on diverted cargo and the Canadian strike being settled are just two more examples of why many longshoremen have come to distrust the International and believe little if anything of what Brother Bridges says. At last week's meeting, Stan Gow asked Bridges a question: "Has the Canadian membership voted on the contract offer yet?" Bridges was caught out and had to answer "NO." Bridges' contempt for the membership of this union is outrageous. First to try to tell us that the Canadian strike was settled when it wasn't. Second, to think he can conceal the fact that struck Canadian cargo is being unloaded at his orders by U.S. longshoremen.

Now Bridges is moving to have the longshore caucus simply declare the contract ratified; the contract we twice rejected. Since he couldn't win by the rules, Bridges proposes to change the rules. How would sports fans react if a month after the World Series the umpires got together and decided to change the rules and declare that the A's hadn't won after all? To the president of this union the rules are whatever suits him. Black is white and white is black and the Canadian contract was settled last week.

It is time to put a stop to the Bridges shell game. U.S. longshoremen have twice rejected the contract offer. The present longshore caucus has a record of going along with Bridges' early contract settlement, and recommending the last contract offer. We can expect them to go ahead with the International's rules change after a few weak protests. We think that every longshoreman who wants to see the contract stay rejected ought to go to the next caucus meeting and make it clear that the caucus isn't going to get away with it. Even a few hundred of us would put the heat on! What we really need, however, is a new caucus and negotiating team. Its time to recall this bunch and hold new elections. The same old negotiating team isn't going to get us any better contract.

Jimmy Herman, president of Clerks Local 34, is already bragging about his plans to organize a "spontaneous rebellion" of clerks' locals and small ports at the coming caucus. The rebellion, of course, is going to

COME TO THE CONVENTION! APRIL 7 — VANCOUVER

be carefully stage-managed by Brother Bridges and the other International officers.

Some honest brothers in 10 who worked hard to defeat the last contract are falling right into Bridges' hands on the issue of the clerks and the small locals. We've heard talk recently about moving to throw the clerks out of the lonshore bargaining unit. All this proposal can hope to do is intensify unnecessary antagonisms between the large ports and every other local in the longshore division.

To stop Bridges we have to create unity between the small ports and clerks' locals and the large longshore locals. The clerks have barely enough work and potentially they are if anything more vulnerable than longshoremen to changes in manning, work rules and automation. They can be hurt just as badly by this contract as we can. Only most clerks don't know that yet.

Isolation, lack of information, and the absence of any opposition makes it easy for Bridges to keep the small ports under control. For those of us who are against the contract, our job is to get the word out to the small ports to counter Bridges' propaganda. We have to put up a real fight to show them and the clerks that this contract offer is a bad deal and we can beat it.

We propose that everyone in Local 10 who is against the contract not sit around waiting for the caucus to force this contract down our throats. Lets all get together around 2 points: Opposition to the last contract offer and opposition to the proposed change in the rules. Send people to L.A. to get brothers there to join with us. Then divide up the small ports so that everyone gets leafleted. Since there are alot of different reasons for opposing the contract and several sets of contract demands being raised, everyone should hand out their own leaflets reflecting their own opinions. This kind of coordinated campaign up and down the coast could stop the caucus dead in its tracks and put and end to Bridges' change the rules scheme.

For a long time we've been the only force in the union willing to come out and say that to win the kind of contract we need, or even just to hold our own against PMA, we are going to have to strike. In the Dispatcher (March 21, 1975, pg.2) Bridges makes the same point. It's really painful to see the leaflets put out by brothers who were trying to do the best for the union turned around by Bridges and used as arguments for accepting the contract.

Bridges doesn't want a strike. What he wants is to ram this contract down our throats. We know that most of the brothers who came out against the contract but didn't call for a strike deep down inside want a strike because they too know that a strike is the only way to get a better deal. But they are afraid to say it out loud. Their excuse is it "sounds too radical" or "it will frighten the membership." The membership of this union isn't stupid and its tired of being deceived.

Those who talk about "scaring the membership" believe that the membership can be tricked into striking at the right moment. But this just serves to convince the membership that they are being manipulated. A union can only win a struggle against the employers if the membership knows what the situation is and unites in a common struggle based on having all the facts and a realistic assessment of the situation. To mobilize the membership we have to tell it like it is: We can't get the contract demands we need to survive without a strike!

The membership is not afraid of a strike. Its afraid of another strike run like the '71 strike. We all know that Bridges ran that strike to lose. His tactics at Boron this past summer ensured a defeat too, as do his tactics for the Canadian strike. We don't want a losing strike: We want to win. To do that means running our own strike with elected strike committees, port by port and at the coast level too. With every representative subject to immediate recall by a vote of the rank-and-file that elected them, we can control our strike committees. Any union official that tries to sabotage or interfere with any decision of a strike committee gets a special early pension plan.

Our strike strategy has to be we all go out together: From Canada to Hawaii, longshore and warehouse too. We can send delegations to Mexico and the ILA ports to ask the rank-and-file not to handle diverted cargo.

Government intervention, cooling off periods, fines or troops should be met with public appeals to the rest of the labor movement for acts of solidarity. Remember 1934? Well, we can do it again. In 1971 Bridges taught us how to lose a strike. Now in 1975 we're learning how to win one.

LONGSHORE-WAREHOUSE MILITANT

Issue no. 5 Special Convention Edition April 4, 1975

Phone:(415) 531-9628 P.O.Box 33, El Cerrito, CA. 94530 labor donated

FOR A UNION-WIDE STRIKE TO DEFEND THE CANADIAN ILWU AND WIN JOBS!

This convention, and the longshore caucus that follows, meet in a period of crisis for the entire ILWU. Our union, in all area and divisions, has come under heavy attack by the employers and their governments. The Canadian ILWU has just been forced back to wrok by government strikebreaking. The U.S. longshore contract hangs in the balance. A unified coastwide program must be developed to defeat government attacks which have also hit Hawaii and the U.S. mainland. Decisive action must be taken to protect our job security which has been deeply eroded by mechanization and runaways in longshore, warehouse, and pineapple. Our standard of living must be protected against the ravages of inflation and depression.

UPHOLD THE LONGSHORE CONTRACT RATIFICATION RULES!
NO MERGERS WITH THE ILA OR IBT NOW!

Bridges is coming into this convention with the avowed intention of overruling the rank-and-file in order to insure that his policies are carried through. The focal point of Bridges attack on union militancy and democracy at this Convention and Caucus will be his attempt to overturn the ranks' veto of his sellout longshore contract.

Bridges has announced that he will ask the coming longshore caucus to change the 2/3rd rule and declare the contract offer ratified over the heads of U.S. longshoremen. Longshoremen rejected the contract because they knew it would mean more 9.43 mean and less work, and because they knew that the "NO LAYOFF" clause was a fraud with an exception written into it for unusual circumstances, i.e., a depression.

If Bridges succeeds in defeating the membership by overturning their vote, then unemployment will spread, demoralization will set in and the road will be wide open for his merger schemes. A pre-condition of merger now with either the ILA or IBT is the destruction of ILWU militancy and democracy.

The Convention must assert its right to review all policy matters and direct the leadership not to attempt to overturn the longshore vote. The Convention must also reject any proposed merger with the ILA or IBT at this time. While mergers can strengthen immensely the fighting abilities of the working class, with the present Gleason/Fitzsimmons/Bridges leaderships,

Continued on page 2

FOR A MILITANT DEMOCRATIC ILWU! OUST THE BRIDGES MACHINE!

Which way for the ILWU? This is the question posed at this Convention. The editors of the Longshore Militant and the Warehouse Militant are publishing this special joint Convention issue because we are convinced that our union must take the militant course and break once and for all with the International no-win policy. The motions we have submitted at this Convention point the way forward to a strategy for union victory and a stronger ILWU.

A HISTORY OF THE BRIDGES'MACHINE: DEFEAT AND BETRAYALS

The crises in the ILWU is highlighted by the way the Bridges machine handled the Canadian and US longshore contracts. Instead of pushing for a joint strike that could win, Bridges/Chester/Goldblatt and Co. maneuvered to isolate the Canadian locals. They also tried to push through a special early settlement for the US in order to prevent a 1975 longshore strike. But the early settlement plan blew up in the Internationals face when US longshoremen twice rejected the P.M.A.'s last offer. Bridges now proposes to have the

Continued on page 3

Page 2 - Indochina: No Coalitions with the Bosses - For a Workers and Peasants Government!

INDOCHINA: NO COALITIONS WITH THE BOSSES! FOR A WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT!

The war in Indochina is rapidly coming to a head. The reactionary government in South Vietnam is crumbling, the Saigon army is in a near total rout shooting innocent civilians and looting as they flee. Lon Nol left Cambodia and by the time we go to press the government may already have fallen. The workers and peasants of Indochina are faced with the real possibility of ending colonial oppression forever and freeing Indochina from imperialist domination. Both the Cambodian and Saigon governments have been creatures of U.S. big business, puppet regimes designed to maintain the exploitation of the Indochinese toiling masses. It is in the interest of the working class around the world to support the working people and peasants of Indochina in their just struggle. To show our solidarity the ILWU must oppose any military intervention or military aid to the U.S. puppet governments in Vietnam and Cambodia. We must refuse to handle any arms shipments whatsoever bound for Southeast Asia!

But the military struggle is only one side of the question. Real freedom for the Indochinese workers and peasants can only be won when they are free in a society ruled and administered directly by the working class through the form of a workers and peasants government. Neither the NLF in Vietnam nor the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia have this as their stated goal. Instead they call only for participation in a new government based on the old regimes minus Lon Nol and Thieu and others closely associated with them. This would be a coalition government that does not expropriate all the employers and landlords without financial compensation. In the face of the recent outstanding military victories, it would represent a compromise and a danger to the true interests of the workers and peasants to enter into treacherous coalitions with any elements of the capitalist class or their political parties. Such attempts at coalition governments instead of workers' and peasants' governments followed the military defeat of the Japanese forces in 1945 and the French forces in 1954, only to lead to new outbreaks of bloody colonial war.

In Chile, a similar attempt at a coalition government under different military conditions has resulted in a terrible and bloody defeat for the Chilean working class. There the coalition consisted of Allende's Socialist Party and the Communist Party with the "liberal" capitalist parties. The workers' parties of the coalition attempted major reforms without seeing the need for abolishing the old state and its key institutions, the army and police. They also failed to independently organize the working class--militarily as well as politically. The military junta, backed up with U.S. and CIA aid, that is now savagely attacking the workers movement of Chile, was the direct result of these policies. Older members of the ILWU, who fought in Spain in 1936 against Franco will remember that even though the workers there had guns, the political leaders also maintained a coalition government policy, sacrificing the independent interests of the working class to an alliance with the "liberal" capitalist elements. Instead of fighting for a workers' government they fought for a more democratic capitalist government. Even now the Spanish working class is still suffering from that victory by Franco's armies.

In Indochina today, just as in Chile or Spain yesterday, the leaders of the workers' parties advocating a coalition government are like trade union bureaucrats looking for "realistic compromises". They get their power from the workers, but use it to make deals with the bosses. The problem is that before these misleaders are exposed and replaced, the damage may be done--that's what happened in Chile.

Militants in the ILWU should say to our brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia--"place no faith in those who advise coalitions! Take power in your own hands through democratically elected workers councils! Forward to a workers' and peasants' government! Workers' management of industry and land to the poor peasants!"

Unionwide Strike...(Continued from pg.1)

merger would be used to strangle the ranks. Merger should only occur after a series of joint strike actions and a demonstrated willingness on the part of all three unions not to handle cargo diverted from each others strikes.

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caucus rewrite the rules and declare the contract ratified, but angry longshoremen are discussing strike action. (For a full analysis of the terms of the rejected contract see earlier issues of the Longshore Militant).

The brothers in the Canadian ILWU waged a militant strike, despite the best efforts of the International leadership who ordered handling the diverted cargo in the U.S. ports! However, we want the Canadian brothers to know that a good section of the U.S. rank-and-file did not want to handle the diverted cargo. They remembered what it was like from the '71 strike, although many brothers did not know that the Canadian section had, in fact, offered not to handle the cargo in '71 if a request was made. Predictably Bridges only put in the request ten days before the strike ended when it was too late to do any good.

Supporters of the Militant Caucus and LM fought hard on this key question of diverted cargo and the urgent need to show labor solidarity across national boundaries. We raised motions at meetings of all three major Bay Area ILWU locals (Clerks, Warehouse and Longshore) to demand that no diverted cargo be handled during the strike and that the International back U.S. ports up in refusing to scab on our Canadian brothers. We said that the full weight of the union should be used to defend against government intervention, and we held a demonstration around the same slogans at the longshore paylines in San Francisco. Bridges' response was to state at a Local 10 meeting in San Francisco that the Canadian strike was already settled and that no diverted cargo was being handled. Two days later the Canadian membership rejected the contract offer by 55% and coffee, steel and other cargo were still being unloaded in Seattle acting on the International's orders! The Canadian Parliament has now ordered the ILWU back to work under the old contract and has given an arbitrator the right to make any changes he deems fit in the old contract! Instead of fighting this government strikebreaking, the International and Canadian Area Councils' leadership capitulated. A fighting leadership would have called on all of B.C. labor to join them in a general strike and made preparations to take the entire U.S. coast out in defense of Canada.

MORE DEFEATS: M&M, PINEAPPLE AND BORON

Over the last period Bridges has piled defeat on top of defeat for the ILWU. The 1961 M&M agreement, pushed through by Bridges/Chester/Goldblatt with the help of the People's World supporters cost us over 10,000 jobs. This This was probably the most spectacular sellout in the last 20 years of U.S. labor history and U.S. longshoremen are still paying for it. More recently in Hawaii the International has given the pineapple producers a free hand to runaway. This will mean up to 40% unemployment on Molokai and Kuaii. The wage increase for sugar workers seems to have been designed to distract attention away from pine and the year extension of the contract is designed to prevent a sugar strike linking up with the pineapple workers for a joint fight against runaways.

The real way to stop runaways is to organize the unorganized. This should extend internationally into Mexico. A militant leadership in Hawaii would have long ago undertaken organizing in the Philipines and elsewhere to combat runaways. The response of the International was to call for import quotas and tariffs at the '73 Convention. Protectionism has the implication that foreign workers are the enemy when the real cause of unemployment is the capitalist economic system. International labor solidarity can stregthen the hand of all workers against the employers. For this reason the ILWU must take a strong stand against deportations and demand full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers.

NO MORE BORONS!

At Boron the International allowed a militant local to be defeated by company scabherding. The International allowed things to degenerate so far that Local 20A went back to work processing scab Boron products while Boron Local 30 was still striking. The International then refused to authorize the longshore division to stop scab borax shipments. Boron was a landmark defeat for our union and Fortune magazine, December 1974, has written the strike up as a management manual for future strikebreaking.

FOR MILITANCY, SOLIDARITY AND UNION VICTORY!

This series of defeats were not inevitable. They came as a result of the policies of the Bridges' machine and their supporters among our local officers. The history of the KNC glass strike that took place this year in Local 6

(Continued on pg.4)

A COASTWIDE STRIKE TO DEFEND THE CANADIAN ILWU AND WIN JOBS!

Instead of being overruled, the veto by the two largest ports on the coast (Los Angles 13 and San Francisco 10), should be used as a springboard to mobilize the union to action. What is called for is a coastwide strike for a decent U.S. longshore contract and in defense of Canada against government strikebreaking. Mass sentiment is rising to reopen the U.S. warehouse contract which in Local 6 was settled for a miserable 6.5% wage increase and anger is growing in Hawaii over the pineapple closures. Hawaii longshore is now preparing to open negotiations. This is the time for the whole union to go out together using the militant tactics that won the '34 strike and built the ILWU. 60,000 strong, on strike all at once, we should demand:

1-Jobs for all, no layoffs, a shorter work week or work day with no loss in pay to make enough work for all of us. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay in industries that work by the week, 6 hours work for 8 hours pay for daily work-NO EXTENDED SHIFTS, and keep on sliding the hours down and the pay up to create jobs.

2-100% automatic escalator clause in the contract, the rise in the cost of living to be calculated monthly. No limit on the escalator!

3-Abolish 9.43 completely. Abolish the request system for clerks. Full daily job equalization. Full skilled job training for all, controlled by the union and at employers' expense.

4-Full A status for all B men now! No deregistration of A or B men. Abolish probation periods in the warehouse division.

5-Full right to strike over work conditions and union issues!

6-Common expiration dates for all ILWU locals and divisions(in U.S.,Canada, Alaska,and Hawaii).

A Militant,Democratic ILWU...(cont. from p. 3)

(Northern California warehouse) proves that when the ILWU uses militant tactics it <u>can win strikes</u>--even against the worst odds. The small strike at KNC glass in Union City, California, had dragged on for 7 weeks in isolation,with no more than 6 people on the picket lines. The company sensed the unwillingness of the local leadership to defend the strike and decided to try the Boron method of strike-breaking: bringing in scabs. Then a group of militants who later formed the Militant Caucus and published the <u>Warehouse Militant</u> stepped in. With leaflets they informed the membership of Local 6 of the company's plans to replace union members with scabs. The membership's response was tremendous. Picket lines grew from 6 to a hundred and more. The pickets defended themselves against armed guards, trained killer dogs,and attacks by the police. A court injunction limiting the number of pickets was ignored. Longshoremen and Teamsters were informed that the glass they were handling at the docks was destined for KNC. They stopped work and refused to handle scab glass for the duration of the strike. The company was forced to back down on its scabherding, union-busting attempt and the union won a limited victory at KNC: these tactics of mass labor solidarity could have turned the Boron disaster into a strike that could have won.

WHAT NEXT FOR THE ILWU?

The Bridges'/International policy for the ILWU is the policy of Boron. Bridges' recent talk of merger with the ILA makes his alternative for the ILWU all too clear. First the International helps to make us vulnerable to the employer through a series of defeats. Then Bridges starts to make noises about dismembering the union. Rather than using merger to increase our fighting capacities, the function of this merger will be to rid himself of an angry and militant rank and file. Bridges hopes to enlist the aid of Gleason, Scotto and Fitzsimmons to crush the growing mood of militancy among the rank and file. As a prelude to merger Bridges has set about creating an atmosphere of political suppression and physical intimidation. Early this Fall the officers of Local 10 were met with a goon squad that demanded that they turn over their keys to the Local offices to the International's appointed monitors.

(Continued on page 5)

A Militant, Democratic ILWU...(cont. from p. 4)

When the Local 10 officials refused, this bunch of thugs hit Larry Wing (then a BA, since elected President of the Local) over the head with the union seal and hospitalized him. The membership came to the defense of their officials and brought charges against the goon squad. What did the International do? THE INTERNATIONAL INTERVENED TO CANCEL THE TRIAL!

LOCAL 6 CENSURE MOTION OF UNION MILITANT DEFEATED

As part of this whole move to discipline the ranks, an unprecedented motion of censure was brought against General Executive Board member, Bob Mandel. Brother Mandel, a founding member of the Militant Caucus, was censured for defending the KNC strike and for criticizing the do-nothing policy of the union officials. The censure was backed up by a call from the International for his expulsion. The censure was decisively voted down by the membership of the East Bay division of Local 6 who knew the militant role played by Mandel and the MC in defending the union and the KNC strike.

As evidence of the exemplary role played by Brother Mandel and other supporters of the MC in the KNC strike we refer union members to the signed statement of the Chief Steward of KNC glass, Paul Rosenberg. Brother Rosenberg not only called on the GEB to drop its outrageous censure motion, but urged "that the GEB pass a motion of support to and encouraging those forms of militant action that were exhibited during the strike at KNC." Rather than censuring Brother Mandel, Rosenberg wrote that the GEB "ought to have applauded him." Not only that, but every single worker at KNC signed this statement. The ranks of the East Bay division rallied behind those who had showed the way forward to victory at KNC. The local leadership and the International backed down. (See WM #1 for the full statement). In this context it is very clear that a move for merger with the ILA or the IBT can mean only more attempts at political intimidation and physical violence against ILWU militants.

CLASS STRUGGLE ROAD!

But there is an alternative to the Boron policy. That is what, on a small scale, KNC represented. To win we must stand up and fight the employers with all the tools at our disposal. To understand how to win, it is important to analyze the full reason that the International leadership and their supporters steadfastly refuse to defend the union, let alone to lead it forward. To begin with, look at the International's ties to the government and the Democratic Party. Bridges is bound hand and foot to Joseph Alioto, Democratic Party mayor of S.F. Alioto appoints Bridges and his cronies to high paying jobs on the Airport Commission, Urban Renewal, Bay Area Rapid Transit, etc. Bridges dutifully threw his full support to Alioto when he ran for governor even though Alioto had just launched an all out racist attack on the black community in S.F. through a police terror dragnet known as Operation Zebra.

The close relationship between the International and the Democratic Party is reflected throughout the lower levels of leadership in the ILWU. Curtis McClain, President of Local 6, was elected to the San Francisco County Democratic Party Central Committee, Keith Eikman, Secretary Treasurer of Local 6 was a major coordinator of the McGovern campaign. In Oregon close ties exist between the ILWU and the Democrats while in the Islands "liberal" Democrats and the ILWU leadership are virtually synonomous.

DEMOCRATS - LIBERALS -- NO "FRIENDS OF LABOR"

The Democrats put up a better front but just like the Republicans they are a party of and by big business. They freeze wages, voted for the wars in Indochina for over 20 years, supported union busting legislation against the 1971 longshore strike, supported the law to outlaw Hawaiian longshore strikes, and have allowed bankruptcy of schools, hospitals and other necessary social services.

The Democratic Party and all representatives of big business are mortally afraid of militant action by the ILWU, particularly a unionwide strike for jobs and a full COLA. Images arise of longshoremen uniting the entire labor movement behind them as they did in 1934 sparking a militant upsurge by the working class against the capitalist depression and even against the capitalist system itself. So the Democratic Party puts the squeeze on its labor bureaucrat friends: "keep the peace, control the ranks"!

(Continued on page 6)

A militant Democratic ILWU...(cont. from p. 5)

Bridges and the International respond obediently, allowing Boron to be crushed, trying to push through a longshore contract which completely prostitues job security to company profits, and standing by while the Canadian government smashes a strike by a section of the union which is too militant for Bridges to directly control. Perhaps the clearest picture of where Harry Bridges and the rest really stand today was a now famous photograph in the S.F. Chronicle. It showed Brother Bridges driving his Volvo through the picket line of striking office workers employed by the ILWU. He was quoted by the justly infuriated workers as commenting sarcastically that "the first three months are the hardest."

ILWU NEEDS A NEW LEADERSHIP

Simple militancy is not sufficient. The Bridges leadership from top to bottom must be ousted. Militants come up short when confronted with attacks by the government and their "friends" in the labor movement, unless they are armed with a program directed against the entire capitalist system and its government. In the workers movement there are various political parties, many of which pretend to be for a class struggle policy, but when the chips are down they sell out. Thus, in Canada, the New Democratic Party, (leading party in the government of B.C.) is a party of labor in name only. When the Canadian Federal government passed legislation to break the longshore strike, the NDP did nothing. Similarly, supporters of the People's World in the ILWU end up taking positions which aid the employer. During the Canadian strike, when we raised the issue of diverted cargo, Archie Brown in Local 10 and Pacific Tribune (PT) supporters in Vancouver did everything possible to let the International off the hook. In Canada Pacific Tribune supporters urged a yes vote on the contract the membership rejected. Brown moved to refuse to handle cargo only if the Canadian area officially requested it. In Canada PT supporters deluded Canadian members into thinking the request had been made when at no time was such a communique sent to the U.S. locals.

It is the program put forward by the supporters of the Longshore Militant and the Warehouse Militant that encapsulates what must be done to put our union on the class struggle road. What we need instead is a leadership unflinchingly on the side of the working man and woman, a leadership dedicated to the use of labors' most militant and effective tactics. This leadership must draw the lessons of the depression and of government strikebreaking and immediately break with the parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans, the Liberals and Conservatives. We need instead a workers party based on a program to fight for a workers government. Such a government would end the cycle of inflation, depression, racism and war by nationalizing all industry without compensation. Workers management would be instituted and production planned for economic need not profit. A major first step down that road would be a return to militancy by the ILWU opening the way for a united working class struggle for jobs for all. BROTHER AND SISTERS! THE LABOR MOVEMENT IS WATCHING US. THE CHOICE IS NOW IN THE HANDS OF THE MEMBERS OF THIS UNION!

THE POLITICS OF THE CONVENTION

Monday morning some International Officials launched a direct attack on union democracy. Harry Bridges personally led an unsuccessful move to forcibly remove a table put up by a grouping of oppositionalists in the union. Bridges objected to the Longshore-Warehouse Militant's slogans which read: "For A Unionwide Strike to Defend the Canadian ILWU and Win Jobs". "Defend the Boron Local Against US Government Attack" "For International Labor Solidarity - Union Action to Fight Deportations" "For A Militant Democratic ILWU - Oust the Bridges Machine"

Rank and file longshoremen and warehousemen were manhandled and one sign from the literature table was torn. A number of delegates spoke out against the attack. We stood our ground and the right of rank and file members to express their opinions and raise a fighting strategy for the union won out.

Then the officers moved to exclude union members who are in good standing but not delegates from attending the Constitution Committee. This was done in complete violation of the Convention Rules read Monday which specify that all proceedings are open to any member in good standing. An attempt to put through a similar exclusion in the Officer's Report Committee was defeated when delegates forced the issue to a vote. Delegates from Locals 13, 17, 500, 502 and 142 spoke against the attempt to exclude non-delegates.

In the Resolutions Committee, a delegate from Local 10 moved that Stan Gow, a Local 10 executive board member, be allowed to speak on a motion that he and Howard Keylor had submitted. Again it was hotly debated with several speakers on both sides before the Committee refused him permission. Nothing in the International Constitution prohibits a non-delegate being given voice in Committee. But the pro-International forces didn't want a motion for a unionwide strike in defense of the Canadian ILWU and to win 30 for 40/6 for 8 debated.

Finally, the officers imposed a rule on the Officers' Report Committee that it could not amend the report in any way, i.e., it was either the officers' policies or nothing. This attempt was no doubt motivated at least partly to head off a fight over Boron. The Report of the Officers on Boron is a direct attack on rank and file militancy. It blames the ranks for fighting for "far out demands" which basically boiled down to a hefty wage raise to match the 25% inflation rate in Boron and maintaining jurisdiction on work the union has traditionally done. While correctly noting that Local 20A went back to work, it doesn't report that the 20A ranks were so disgusted at the anti-union policies of their own officers that they voted them out right after Boron was defeated.

Finally, the Officers' Report attacks the concept that it should have authorized Local 13 longshoremen to refuse to handle scab borax. Local 30 directly requested this of Local 13 and longshoremen honoured the picket lines until ordered by an arbitrator and Bridges to go back to work. The whole idea of a joint warehouse and waterfront union is to bring concentrated power behind what would otherwise be isolated strikes. Boycotts on the docks are one of our strongest weapons. The Convention must reject outright this attack on the courageous Boron membership.

FULL 'A' REGISTRATION FOR ALL 'B' MEN AND TERMINAL WORKERS NOW!

At this Convention we have learned about the serious problems facing the 'B' men and Terminal Workers in Port Hueneme and Los Angeles. In Local 10, PMA is still attempting to force mass deregistrations of 'B' men. The whole union must fight for full 'A' status now for all Terminal Workers and 'B' men. An injury to one is an injury to all!

Continued on other side....

CAUCUS

DEFEN

WHY THESE ATTACKS ON DEMOCRATIC UNION PROCEDURE?

Because the ILWU is in trouble. The Officer's Report reads like a catalogue of disasters: Boron, pineapple runaways, warehouse runaways, parliamentary strike-breaking in Canada, disappearing jobs in longshore. In the middle of a depression, the International's policies of business unionism, class collaboration and labor peace can only wreck our union. The International is trying desperately to paper over the crisis and the real issues have scarcely been discussed.

The International is trying to lay the groundwork for changing the two-thrids rule and declaring the US mainland longshore contract ratified over the veto of the membership of the two largest ports on the coast. A quick look at NDP Labor Minister King's keynote address Monday makes this perfectly clear. The officers select the speakers - they know what they are going to say. King warned that membership rejection of contracts "is growing and advancing to a dangerous level." He demanded that "we balance the need of the membership to be able to ratify a settlement against the need for a smooth system of bargaining to prevail."

Bridges agrees. He has already stated that he will ask the longshore caucus to ratify by proclamation a contract with no job security and that maintains the steadyman system. This fight is just under the surface of the Convention. We believe the contract has been rejected and should stay rejected. Our union should make immediate preparations for a coastwide longshore strike in defense of Canada and for a decent US longshore contract.

US members know how phony Bridges' pledge is to resist the loss of "even one penny" to Canadian government strikebreaking. He let the US government rob longshoremen of 40¢ an hour after the 1972 strike. Members of Bridges' showcase "socialist" NDP voted for breaking the Canadian strike. Bridges' real program for the union is spelled out in the merger motion supported by Canadian officials.

Finally, without many of the delegates realizing what it meant, the Convention passed a resolution calling for a shorter work week at less pay - 7 hours work for 7 hours pay. This motion would mean ILWU members accepting a 12% pay cut. Delegates from Hawaii pointed out that hotel workers already have a 30 hours week for 30 hours pay and they need more hours. The shorter work week or work shift has to be fought for with no loss in pay. We say 6 hours work at no less than 8 hours pay or 30 for 40. An equally bad motion has been proposed by Local 13. This motion supports deportation of foreign born workers. The union must fight against all deportations and demand full citizenship rights for foreign born workers.

Some delegates have been telling us that this Convention would work out a program to reverse the many defeats listed in the Officer's Report. We believe that the only program that can solve this union's problems is that of the Longshore-Warehouse Militant. We urge all Brothers and Sisters to read our special Convention Issue carefully and to attend our forum.

Stan Gow - Local 10 Executive Board
Howard Keylor - Local 10 Steward
Bob Mandel - Local 6 General Executive Board
John Dow - Local 6 Steward

For the Longshore-Warehouse Militant

April 9, 1975

labor donated

FORUM:

WHICH WAY FOR THE ILWU - MILITANT CLASS STRUGGLE OR DEFEAT ?

The ILWU is in crisis. Our union, in all areas and divisions, has come under heavy attack by the employers and their governments. The Canadian ILWU has just been forced back to work by government strikebreaking. The U.S. longshore contract hangs in the balance. A unified coastwide program must be developed to defeat government attacks which have also hit Hawaii and the U.S. mainland. Decisive action must be taken to protect our job security which has been deeply eroded by mechanization and runaways in longshore, warehouse and pineapple. Our standard of living must be protected against the ravages of inflation and depression. The Bridges leadership does not resist and actively sabotages any attempts by the ranks to defend themselves. It must be replaced immediately by a leadership with a militant class struggle program to defend the ILWU.

Hear: STAN GOW -- member Local 10 Executive Board
HOWARD KEYLOR -- Local 10 steward
BOB MANDEL -- member Local 6 General Executive Board

Location: FISHERMEN'S HALL, 138 E. Cordova, Vancouver

TIME: Wednesday, April 9, 1975 -- 8:00 p.m.

SPONSORED BY LONGSHORE-WAREHOUSE MILITANT. Labor donated.

This meeting is for longshoremen, warehousemen, union members & their families.

BLOC
ANTI-KKK

OPEN LETTER TO LOCAL 6 MEMBERS

Sometime late Friday night, Apr. 11, the newly purchased home of Bro. C. B. Dennis was set on fire in an effort to prevent him from occupying it. This was the third fire bombing in a few weeks time. It came not too many hours after the Broadview Chief of Police informed Pres. Roth that he was doing everything in his power to protect the house from attacks by racists.

At Sunday's Membership Meeting, our Local Union, with leading members of all caucuses present, unanimously voted to set up a volunteer defense committee to watch the newly purchased home until adequate protection can be obtained and the attacks have ceased. A motion for the Local Union to elect a non-voluntary Committee was defeated 24 to 17.

At a meeting on Tuesday afternoon a Steering Committee of the Voluntary Committee was chosen to organize our defense activity. A second meeting will be held at our Local Union Hall on Friday, April 18, 1975 at 4 p.m. to further our defense arrangements. (No lost time will be paid). It is important that all members of our Local Union who wish to volunteer to help protect the constitutional rights of our brother attend this meeting.

The only way our own rights can be secure is to make sure that the democratic rights of everyone are secure. Up to this time the police have failed to provide adequate protection. If they can't do it we must.

In the meantime we will exert every effort to get our public officials to do the job of preventing any further attacks on this property. Our Regional Director, Robert Johnston, has promised his full support. These efforts are in accord with our UAW principles and policies.

Miller - Rodgers, Chairman
Marc Freedman, Secy.
Steering Committee of
Voluntary Defense Committee
Members of Local 6

Committee members
Miller Rodgers, D. 45
Marc Freedman, D. 33
Mike Goldfield, D. 53
Loretta Henry, D. 51
Laura Riley, D. 45
Steve Rothkrug, D.37
Leland Draper, D. 10
Ken Campbell, D. 33
Judson Jones, D. 53
Ed Dibble, D. 40

Contact any of the above.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

Canada #1 Published by Stan Gow & Howard Keylor April 16, 1975

Phone: 824-0439 San Francisco, CA. Labor donated

THE ILWU CONVENTION AND THE FUTURE OF CANADIAN LONGSHORE

The ILWU international convention just met in Vancouver. What happened at the convention has a lot to do with the future of our union, both in the U.S. and in Canada. Since during the recent Canadian strike the Longshore Militant did a lot of work fighting for U.S. longshoremen to refuse to handle diverted cargo, we thought we would put out a special issue while we were up here dealing with questions of special interest to Canadian longshoremen.

WHAT HAPPENED AT THE CONVENTION?

Our union is in trouble. A big strike and a lot of jobs lost to scabs at Boron, California; pineapple and sugar runaways in Hawaii; the Canadian strike broken by Parliament; and longshore jobs disappearing in the U.S. The convention passed a motion establishing a mandatory retirement age for international officers at age 65 to go into effect in 1977. If the next convention doesn't reverse it, this means a purge of Goldblatt and Bridges. Replacing two old bureaucrats with two young bureaucrats isn't the solution. Nor is Rudy Rubio, the L.A. longshore president, who is running against Bill Chester for international vice-president. U.S. longshoremen remember Rubio as the only delegate out of five from Los Angeles who voted for the last U.S. contract offer. This contract was rejected by U.S. longshoremen. We need a real alternative in this union! That's what the Longshore Militant is trying to create.

BRIDGES' PLAN - - MERGER AND DISMEMBERMENT OF THE ILWU

The Dispatcher and Bridges both said the convention would take steps to defend the Canadian ILWU from government strikebreaking. What did it do? Nothing! The only motions introduced in defense of Canada were submitted by the Longshore Militant editors. We call for a joint U.S.-Canada longshore strike, backed up by the entire ILWU. This would stop parliamentary strikebreaking and win a decent contract for both U.S. and Canadian longshoremen.

NO CANADIAN ILWU - ILA MERGER

At the recently concluded ILWU convention, President Harry Bridges again tried to pressure the delegates into dismembering the ILWU and merging the remnants into other unions. The delegates weren't buying it, and passed a resolution opposed to mergers, but encouraging alliances and joint action. However, the Canadian area ILWU Council brought in a resolution entitled "International Unionism." President Don Garcia and Vice President Kennedy made it clear that they were moving toward breaking away from the ILWU and toward merging with the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association. This motion, authorizing unity talks with the AFL-CIO, the ILA, Teamsters, railroad unions, and other transportation unions, was also passed by the convention. None of the rank and file members that we talked to in Canada knew anything about the proposed merger. Let's look at what splitting off the Canadian ILWU and merger with ILA would mean to longshoremen in Canada.

This seems to be Bridges' backdoor method of starting the ball rolling by encouraging the Canadian area to break away, then push the U.S. west coast longshoremen into the ILA, leaving the Teamsters to pick up the warehouse division and Hawaii to go off by themselves. Merger with the ILA would mean accepting the ILA's undemocratic constitution and gangster practises. This would put the lid on militancy on the waterfront. During the recent Canadian strike, through leaflets, demonstrations, and motions we were able to create a real understanding among many U.S. rank and file longshoremen of the need to refuse to handle cargo diverted from Canada. As long as U.S. and Canadian longshore are in the same union the rank and file can fight their misleadership over the diverted cargo issue.

Establishing two rivallongshore unions on the North American west coast would bring back competition and raiding and further encourage scabbingon each others' strikes by handling diverted cargo. On the U.S. east coast ILA locals usually strike separately, work cargo diverted from each other's ports and settle strikes separately with different area or port contracts. The proposed merger coming from Bridges,

win victory for the ILWU - specifically refusal to handle cargo diverted between west coast U.S. and Canadian ILWU ports. The Canadian area leadership works hand in glove with Bridges and shares with the international leadership the same class-collaborationist policies that have weakened our union in all areas. Brothers from Canada know that the Longshore Militant was calling on U.S. longshoremen to refuse to handle diverted cargo during the strike. Last time we were in Vancouver Roy Smith threw us out of the Local 500 hall. At the convention Bridges, Peebles and Pritchett tried the same goon squad tactics. They tried to prevent us from setting up a literature table in the lobby of the convention and passing out our literature to delegates. It didn't work. Pritchet struck one of our members. Bridges threatened to call the hotel manager. Someone said to call the cops. We stood our ground because we believe that union members have a right to come to their own union convention and distribute literature. A lot of delegates agreed that we had every right to be there. Four days later we were still there. Peebles had to recognize our rights as union members while he was trying to throw out salesmen of several left and socialist newspapers. In spite of Peebles we successfully defended the right of socialists to sell papers at the convention because we believe that union members should have the chance to read anything they want. Violence inside the working class movement is a bad thing and must be stopped.

Peebles and Pritchet were particularly enraged about one of our slogans. "For a union-wide strike to defend the Canadian longshoremen against government strikebreaking." They said, "We're Canadians and we don't need anyone from the U.S. to tell us how to win our strikes." Their real failure to defend the Canadian longshore strike was revealed before the entire convention on Friday when delegates began demanding answers to questions about cargo diverted to U.S. ports during the strike. A delegate asked President Bridges whether the U.S. worked any diverted cargo. Brother Bridges replied that it was his information that only one ship was worked in the U.S. and that he was in constant communication with Brother Garcia, president of the Canadian area. A delegate from Seattle stated that they did work diverted cargo and that they never had so much work, and that Brother Garcia advised them to go ahead and work it. Vice-President Kennedy was asked whether the Canadian leadership had asked the U.S. not to work diverted cargo. He replied, "No, we didn't ask you not to work diverted cargo." President Garcia stated that he was in daily touch with the International and that President Bridges had told him that, "If you ask us we'll not work it." Garcia said that he knew cargo was being diverted, that only the Executive Board could make the decision to issue the call for support, that it takes time to work out the strategy and that it takes three months for a strike to really get going.

Longshoremen don't need nationalism, which sets workers on each side of the border against each other, and makes the shipowner's job of keeping the union divided easier. We need international unity against the employers and against all of these lying, no-win bureaucrats who go on forcing us to scab on each others' strikes by handling diverted cargo. Bridges has been giving away longshoremen's jobs for a long time now. First in the U.S. we got M and M--ess of union control over work rules and manning, then steady men (RWF). Few U.S. longshoremen get asmuch work as they need any more and the U.S. longshore division has a lot fewer members than it used to. Now Canada is being forced into this job-losing process by parliamentary strike-breaking. The Canadian leadership is cooperating in joint employer-union study groups on the container loading and unloading issue. It doesn't take studying to know that losing the container jurisdiction means losing jobs. --and as containerization increases a lot more jobs will go. This is clear from our experiences in the States. Our local, number 10, has had a 50% drop in membership since 1961. Thanks to containers, 80% of which are stuffed by non-union labor at slave pay-rates and conditions, productivity has more than doubled. That's what giving up container jurisdiction will mean for Canadian longshoremen.

RWF AND CASUALS

Mechanization and containerization are just beginning in Canada. The depression we're going into will produce a decline in shipping. As jobs disappear, differences in earnings between RWF and hall men could grow, leading to a split in the ranks and a weakening of the union. Steady skilled men in San Francisco and Los Angeles are earning far more than hall men and are drawn closer to the employer than to the union. The large number of casuals without union membership is another time bomb ticking away. In a period of real struggle a large number of longshoremen without voice or vote is both an injustice and a serious potential weakness in the ranks. A fight has

waged to bring all the casuals in as full members. This will strengthen the union. In the U.S. we are fighting for full A status for all B men.

NDP LEADERSHIP SUPPORTS STRIKEBREAKING LEGISLATION

Finally, the Canadian area leadership supports the NDP uncritically. Provincial Labor Minister Bill King warned the ILWU convention Monday against union memberships who " frivolously reject contract settlements achieved through hard bargaining." King stated that the task of union leadership is "to sell the package to the membership and don't let them take a foolish position."

Longshoremen in Canada should take the Canadian leadership to task for not officially asking the U.S. not to handle diverted cargo. We raised the issue and demanded that U.S. longshoremen not wait for an official request. During the strike we sent telegrams to all the Canadian locals urging them to make an official request on the diverted cargo issue. We understand that it was distributed in a highly censored version by some misguided brothers. Here's the full text of our telegram:

> To Locals 500, 502 and 514:
> "ILWU Local 10 Executive Board passed a motion March 13 not to handle diverted cargo during your strike, if an official request is made by Canadian ILWU. This was a motion made by Archie Brown as a substitute for a stronger motion by Stan Cow that calls for 10 refusing to handle diverted cargo starting immediately, calling on the International other locals to do the same and pledging full strength of the union to defend against the Canadian government intervention. This motion will be raised again at the 10 and 6 membership meeting this week. Militant clerks, longshoremen, and warehousemen held rally March 14th in San Francisco calling for no handling of diverted cargo. We urge all Canadian locals to immediately make official and public appeals to all US ILWU locals to refuse to handle diverted cargo.
> For the Longshore Militant: Stan Cow (member Local 10 Exec), Howard Keylor (Local 10 steward). For the Militant Caucus (Warehouse): Bob Mandel (member Local 6 Exec), John Dow (steward), Peter Farrugio."

* *

OUR PROGRAM IN BRIEF:

1. For a democratic ILWU--stop goon squad tactics!
2. Union-wide strike for a shorter work week at no loss in pay to provide jobs for all with a full 100% c.o.l. with no cap.
3. Union control of jobs! Abolish 9.43 completely. Right to strike over grievances and in defense of other workers.
4. Organize the unorganized throughout the U.S., Canada and Mexico.
5. For militant defense of our picket lines.
6. No government intervention in our union--no court suits against the union.
7. Fight all oppression of minorities and women and the foreign born.
8. For international working class solidarity!
9. Nationalize the longshore-transport industry without compensation. For workers' control!
10. Break with the Republicans and the Democrats. Throw out the Bridges machine. For a workers' party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers' government. For a planned economy run by a workers' government.

* * * * *

SUBSCRIBE TO THE LONGSHORE MILITANT

The Longshore Militant is a regular rank and file newsletter that is fighting for a strong, militant and democratic ILWU. We believe more unity is needed between us and Canadian areas of the ILWU. We welcome letters about the situation in Canada and hope to have more coverage of Canadian events. We can't distribute regularly in Canada, so subscribe now, $1 for 10 issues, and send subscriptions to your friends in the union! We need donations to keep publishing. Make checks out to Stan Cow and send your address to Longshore Militant, P.O. Box 33, El Cerrito, California 94530.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

Issue no. 6 Published by Stan Gow & Howard Keylor May 12, 1975

Phone:(415) 824-0439 San Francisco, Ca. Labor Donated

Prepare For A Winning Strike--

Recall The Caucus !

The critical hour is approaching on our contract. May 19, Bridges and Co. are going back into negotiations. Wing, Kaye, and other Local 10 delegates would have us believe the Caucus accomplished something towards getting us a decent contract. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Caucus demands are no better than the ones we have twice rejected. Some of our brother oppositionalists around Leo Robinson and Archie Brown seem to have been misled by the Caucus rejecting Bridges' proposal to override the veto. Where before the convention they were calling for a new Negotiating Committee, now they seem to be giving a blank check to a Negotiating Committee that has only one member on it who voted against the last contract!

We urge these brothers to think again about what happened at the Caucus and reject the counsel of those who say give the "new" Negotiating Committee a chance. The Canadian rank and file recalled their Negotiating Committee 3 times in 1969 till they got a contract that satisfied the membership. We should learn a lesson from that experience. What we should do is get together to run a united campaign to recall the Caucus and hold new elections. We can start here in Local 10 to recall our delegates and elect new ones who will fight militantly for what longshoremen need. We urge everyone who wants a better contract to join us in circulating a petition for a new Longshore Caucus.

How the Caucus Failed Us

The first thing the Caucus did was vote down a motion by John Pandora (Local 13) to move the Caucus to San Francisco where the rank and file could attend more easily than Vancouver. This was a Caucus that had a lot to hide from the rank and file. The Coast Committee report was given by Bridges, Ward and Huntsinger. They justified the last contract and urged the Caucus to change the rules and declare the contract adopted. Bridges said we can't do any better without a strike and a strike is a sure loser.

In spite of the International officers' attempt to divide the clerks and small ports from the 4 major ports the Officers Report was rejected. It got only 3 votes: Bridges, Chester and Ward. Even Jimmy Herman--who had been bragging about leading a "revolt" of the small ports and clerks' Locals to overturn the previous contract rejection--saw which way the wind was blowing and backed down. During the following days of debate there were two more unsuccessful attempts to ram through the contract that had been rejected. Then Clark (Local 40) proposed to hold another referendum with a simple 50% yes vote required to approve the contract. This was

(Cont. on page 2)

INTERNATIONAL ATTACKS UNION DEMOCRACY

In the last few weeks the International supporters in Local 10 have tried to run a campaign of intimidation against anyone or anything that opposes Bridges. First Joe Mosely and Tom Lupher tried to prevent socialist and labor groups from selling their newspapers outside the hall. Workers Vanguard salesmen were told "this is Harry Bridges' hall and no paper that says anything against him is going to be sold here." Several of us who knew that this hall does not belong to Harry Bridges stood around and let it be known that we were going to defend freedom of the press. It worked. We weren't going to let the International tell us what we can read. Ever notice that the Chronicle and the Examiner salesmen stand right inside the hall? Last time we struck both papers took PMA's side and told us to go back to work. All the socialist papers, whatever else they had to say, supported our strike.

Another step in the intimidation campaign took place at last week's Executive Board meeting. Tom Lupher started threatening

(Cont. on page 3)

RECALL THE CAUCUS (Cont. from page 1)

supported by Bridges but failed. On Wednesday, April 16, Carl Smith (Local 10) made a motion to accept a simple majority formula to try again to adopt the contract. This failed also.

Delegates from the big ports described the sharp decline in jobs longshoremen are facing from containerization, 9.43 and other steady men, loss of manning, disappearing jurisdiction.

The high point of the Caucus (and it wasn't very high) was reached with the Henry (34) and Maloney (19) proposal to declare the International's contract package rejected and to go into negotiations with another caucus to be called June 2 to determine future action. This was rejected.

On Wednesday, Larry Wing, Local 10 president, began the retreat by withdrawing all resolutions transmitted from Local 10 except 14-N which had been passed by the membership. Wing thereby reversed the decision of the Local 10 membership to send all resolutions submitted but not voted on to the convention and Caucus. Thus, Longshore Militant contract motions were prevented from even coming up before the Caucus, along with all of the other motions sent in by Local 10. Longshore Militant motions included those calling for removing the no-strike clause from the contract, a 6-hour shift for 8 hours pay, common longshore contract termination date with Hawaii, U.S. mainland and Canada, 100% cost of living agreement, eliminating 9.43 and promoting all B men to A status immediately.

Then Jimmy Herman (34) made a motion to name a subcommittee of the Caucus to come up with a program. It passed and the subcommittee meetings were closed to the rank and file. This was a pretty obvious gimmick to do some dirty dealing with our contract demands behind closed doors. The demands the December Caucus came up with were inadequate. The demands this subcommittee came up with were even worse. The Caucus voted to accept the program.

The New Caucus Program

1. Any demand to eliminate steady men or take them out of production was dropped. Instead some vague formula for "equalization" of hours between steady men and hall men was adopted. This demand is a very bad one. Taken to its logical conclusion it means more steady men. At the December Caucus Huntsinger said that we could get equalization in return for agreeing to more steady men. The problem with steady men isn't just that it's unequal. Steady men also break the union's control over jobs and dispatch and often through speed-up one steady man will do two men's work. In Canada the employers are already using steady men to do regular jobs to finish out their 8 hours. PMA would love to "equalize hours" until there are nothing but steady men. Then most of us would be out of work and the hiring hall would be lost.

2. Jurisdiction: The Caucus voted to drop all demands on jurisdiction except the LASH barges! On LASH barges they will "attempt" to negotiate travel gongs, and if unsuccessful settle for a tax on non-PMA companies. In other words the Caucus is prepared to throw away our jurisdiction for a worthless tax that will probably be declared illegal by the courts just like the container tax was.

3. Nothing at all spelled out on manning. Bridges said we can't even freeze the present manning and to forget about a manning scale on all operations. He said "we gave manning away in the first M & M contract." Wrong Harry, YOU gave away manning in '61 and we think it's time we got it back!

4. A 7 hour shift, apparently at 7 hours pay. This means we either work 6 days to make what we now make in 5, or take a 12% pay cut. In other words we just spread the unemployment out more and make it easier for the employer to run round-the-clock operations. There was no demand made for no extended shifts! What we need is 6 hours work for 8 hours pay with no extended shifts. If 7 for 7 means anything it means less pay and less work.

5. All money items to "attempt by negotiations to go as far as possible". This formula means they are not prepared to fight for wages, cost of living, a better PGP, paid weekly with unlimited funding, pensions or holidays. No instructions were even given to the negotiating committee

INTERNATIONAL ATTACKS UNION DEMOCRACY (Cont. from page 1)

Archie Brown and the Communist Party. He said, "You should all be expelled," and "We're working on it." We've been saying for a long time that Bridges and his supporters would like to purge the ILWU of all the opposition and break all resistance in Locals 13 and 10. Everyone knows we have many disagreements with the supporters of People's World. In the past their main role in the union has been to function as the left wing of the Bridges camp. But we don't intend to put up with talk from the International about throwing Archie Brown or anyone else out of the union. We have to stick together and defend each other. When the government was trying to throw Bridges out of the union the rank and file got together and defended him. No one--neither Bridges nor the federal government--is going to run the left out of this union!

In light of these recent attacks we want to once more urge supporters of People's World in the union to repudiate PW's recent support for Jimmy Herman's attack on the left at the Vancouver convention. PW, April 19, said, "...Jimmy Herman, Local 34 president took the floor and in an eloquent presentation blasted those ultra-left elements who are viewed by the legitimate left, including the Communist Party, as attempting to sow division in the workers' ranks by projecting an 'adventurist program'.... A number of delegates said, however, they felt Herman should have made an effort to distinguish these ultra-left forces from the responsible left forces largely responsible for helping organize the union in the 1930's." (emphasis added) By now it should be clear that Herman's speech was attacking every oppositionalist in the entire union...from Rubio on left. If we don't all stick together against the International's attacks on union democracy, Bridges will pick us off one by one. An injury to one is an injury to all!

RECALL THE CAUCUS (Cont. from page 2)

to reject the PGP rules in the last contract offer. These rules were designed to put the arbitrator in control of the dispatch hall.

B Men Ditched By Caucus

No mention was made of promoting the B men. Not even the window-dressing motion passed by the December Caucus which simply repeated the language of the '73 contract. Bridges badmouthed the B men for voting on the last contract and personally tried to throw out of the Caucus a group of Hueneme B men who had come all the way to Vancouver on their own. Delegates from Los Angeles Local 13 defended their right to be there and they stayed in. Wing and Kaye didn't do much better...We asked them to put a demand that B men be promoted at once to A status into the program. All George Kaye could say was, "We've got a good package. We don't want to ruin it with the B men issue." Wing had already withdrawn our motion on the subject.

The Caucus was a disaster. The equalization scheme and the 7 hour day could leave us worse off than before and the rest of the program was just hot air. They didn't have the guts to name even one demand as a strike issue or to begin to prepare for a strike. Then they elected a negotiating committee dominated by International officers and their stooges. 14 out of 15 members of the new Negotiating Committee voted for the last contract offer! We think it's time to recall the caucus and elect a new one. Local 10 can start now by recalling its delegates and calling on other Locals to do the same and hold new elections. We need a Caucus and Negotiating Committee that will fight for us not for PMA's profits. In Local 34 where only 5% voted against the contract on the last vote, at a recently held special meeting 20% realized what a bad deal it was and voted to recall their delegates.

Brothers who want to see a stronger union should not be building illusions in this Caucus. Nor should they forget about our contract and spend their time campaigning for Rubio (who voted for the last contract offer) as some brothers seem to be doing. Nor should they be deluding themselves that a better contract can be won without a strike. The membership knows better and Bridges knows better...and he scores a lot of cheap points by saying so. Ducking the strike issue just discredits union militants.

(Cont. on page 4)

OUR CONTRACT DEMANDS

1. Full union control over the dispatch hall and work. A manning scale on every job for longshoremen and clerks--at least the East Coast scale. No arbitration. Full right to strike or stop work over safety, conditions, and all other union issues and in defense of other workers.
2. 6 hours work for 8 hours pay. No extended shifts. We should fight for more jobs, not the PGP, which leaves us at the mercy of PMA's handouts.
3. No steady men (9.43, Crane supplement, etc.) Low man out system on all jobs. Skill training for all at PMA's expense. Get rid of the request system for clerks.
4. No deregistrations of A or B men. Full A status for all B men, terminal warehouse workers, weighers and strappers, grain elevators, etc. No second class citizens in this union.
5. A big raise to catch up with inflation. A 100% cost of living escalator calculated monthly.
6. Full ILWU jurisdiction on all West Coast longshore work. No divisive raiding.
7. Pensions...every retired member and his widow gets the same pension paid at the highest rate with full COLA.
8. More jobs. Keep on reducing the hours and raising the pay to make jobs for young people, women and minorities. We want to see a fully integrated union.

RECALL THE CAUCUS (Cont. from page 3)

This is a depression. Employers everywhere are trying to use the high rates of unemployment to break the unions. The last contract PMA offered us makes it plain that we can't get what we need without a fight. We have to prepare for a strike.

Bridges is perfectly capable of calling a strike vote cold with a week's notice and then if it fails because there hasn't been time for the membership to discuss the issues, attempt to sell us the same old contract we just rejected. Or Bridges might try to call a strike with no teeth in it like the last one, hoping that a losing strike would increase sentiment for merger. We have to be ready to fight any and every scheme that Bridges comes up with in order to prepare for a solid strike to win what we need.

We can't leave the question of a strike in the International's hands. To win we have to prepare now. We have to expect to face a government injunction. We have to be ready to defy it and call on the entire labor movement to back us up...with a general strike if necessary like in '34.

To run the kind of strike that can win we have to elect strike strategy committees in every port and coast wide to mobilize the rank and file and take the strike out of Bridges' hands. We have to refuse to work any kind of cargo, Military, perishables. And to stop diverted cargo--call on Canada to go out with us and send delegations to Mexico, the Teamsters and the ILA rank and file to ask them not to work diverted cargo. During the work stoppage over LASH jurisdiction, Wing and Kaye, the two most militant-talking delegates from 10 proved that they weren't willing to stand up to the government. This is why we need to hold new elections to get a caucus that will fight. A successful strike will lay the basis for a new class-struggle leadership for the ILWU.

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LONGSHORE MILITANT

Issue no. 7 Published by Stan Gow & Howard Keylor June 20, 1975

Phone: (415)824-0439 San Francisco, Ca. Labor Donated

Elect a New Caucus & Negotiating Committee

OPEN THE NEGOTIATIONS!

Many brothers have been asking us what's happening at negotiations ? Are we going to take a strike vote? Will we work past July 1st?

We know very little about negotiations since rank and file members were barred from all sessions of the Negotiating Committee since June 2nd. Friday, May 30, Leo Robinson and three other brothers showed up at the International Headquarters and were told that the Negotiating Committee was in "executive session" and they couldn't attend. Monday, June2, Gow, Keylor, another brother from our local and two clerks showed up and sat in forabout 2hours at a caucus of the union side of the Negotiating Committee. Then the session was closed on the request of an anonymous delegate, and we were asked to leave. Later we were told that all future sessions would be closed to the rank and file.

NO SECRET NEGOTIATIONS

Longshore negotiations have traditionally been open to the ranks, and it was announced earlier at the Stewards' Council and in our Bulletin that longshoremen were welcome to sit in. What has the Negotiating Committee got to hide? Rumors are sweeping the docks about what is going on; but no one knows what to expect. The employers are sitting there every day planning their strategy. Only the rank and file are kept in the dark.

Brother Gow made a motion at the Stewards' Council which disapproved of barring the rank and file from the negotiations and asked that the sessions be open to members. The motion lost: 8 yes, 11 no, with Leo Robinson speaking against it. At the Executive Board meeting of May 12 brother Gow moved that the issue of closed negotiations be put on the agenda for discussion. The motion lost, with Archie Brown abstaining and Joe Mosely , our local's representative on the Negotiating Committee, voting not to even discuss the issue.

WHAT IS GOING ON?

In spite of the Coast Caucus' instructions to start negotiations on May 1st, the Committee waited until May 19 to begin. The letter from the Negotiating Committee dated June 3 stated that the only issue discussed so far is equalization of hours between steady skilled men and skilled hall men. Does this mean that the Committee intends to ignore the shorter work shift, manning, jurisdiction, grievance procedure, Cost of Living, weekly P.G.P., and other issues? Will they call for a strike vote after June 22 on the equalization issue only in order to split the small ports and clerks away from the big ports?

Another rumor that's going around is that the Negotiating Committee will " stop the clock" July 1 and continue to negotiate while extending the contract day by day. What happens if the PMA doesn't pay the PGP or Health and Welfare? Working day to day is a policy aimed at weakening and demoralizing the union.

We warned that this International-dominated Negotiating Committee is not serious about fighting for a program of jobs and job security for all. They are setting us up for surrender and defeat in the face of declining job opportunity. The only way to get rid of them is to recall our caucus delegates, elect new caucus delegates, and call upon the other locals to do the same. We need

a new caucus and a new negotiating committee - a Negotiating Committee that will prepare the ranks to back it up in a real fight for jobs.

We should pass a motion at the next membership meeting demanding that negotiations be open to all the rank and file of this union. We should also pass a motion to recall our caucus delegates, elect new delegates, and declare no confidence in the Negotiating Committee.

SOME OTHER POINTS OF VIEW

We just got a copy of the latest in a series of leaflets put out by some 17 brothers including Archie Brown and Leo Robinson. This new leaflet is the first in the series that comes out openly criticizing the Negotiating Committee. This new critical attitude represents progress and we are glad to see it, but it doesn't go far enough. First it calls for opening negotiations to the rank and file. We agree 100% But why did Leo Robinson argue and vote against Stan Gow's motion in the Stewards' Council which called for the very same thing? And why did Archie Brown abstain on the vote to put the issue on the agenda of the Executive Board? If Leo feels he made a mistake we would like to hear him say so and to join us in putting the issue on the floor at a future meeting. It's called "putting your money where your mouth is."

Another thing we agree with is the leaflet's opposition to the Negotiating Committee's strategy of only dealing with the issue of equalization. But, having said this, the leaflet goes on to say that their purpose "is not to challenge the Negotiating Committee strategy as such"! If there is anything that should be obvious to all of us by now, it's that the Negotiating Committee is made up almost entirely of the same people who tried to sell us PMA's latest contract offer. To be a real opposition to the leadership and their ruinous policies, you have to challenge the bankrupt strategy of the Negotiating Committee <u>as such</u>! Anything else just gives Bridges a free hand. Closing negotiations is a dead giveaway that the Negotiating Committee's strategy is directed against the rank and file, not against PMA.

Finally, the brothers' leaflet correctly implies that the PMA is taking a very hard-headed line against our essential demands for jobs at a living wage. But they fail to point out that we have only two choices this year: wage a hard, winning, well-organized strike for job security, or go down to defeat. Militants should see by now that this Negotiating Committee will not confront the PMA, will not prepare the membership for a strike, and will not wage a winning strike. When are you going to call for a new caucus and a new Negotiating Committee, brothers? When are you going to call for a strike? It may soon be too late!

LONGSHORE MILITANT

Issue no. 8 Published by Stan Gow & Howard Keylor June 25, 1975

(415) 824-0439 P.O. Box 33 El Cerrito, CA 94530 labor donated

Bridges Declares War On Longshoremen!

He proposes to starve us out!

We need a special local meeting before the contract expires to discuss what to do!

We have to take a strike vote!

We must elect a strike committee and prepare to run a winning strike!

We have to act now to keep the International from sabotaging us!

Bridges has just informed the locals by special delivery letter that he and his Negotiating Committee have decided that we will continue working past July 1st with no contract, no PGP, no paid holidays (July 4th), and no welfare. Bridges' action is a declaration of war on every longshoreman and clerk on the coast. PMA gets its work done while we starve. What a bonus Harry has just given PMA! According to Bridges' letter, by doing this we will be "using the pressures that continued uncertainty and instability of no contract will strengthen our bargaining position."(sic) Bullshit! What Bridges really means is that he's trying to starve us down and beat us down until we're willing to accept anything the PMA wants to offer us.

PMA NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD! Tonnage is up, productivity is up. According to the Journal of Commerce (March 3), a representative of U.S. shipping interests recently predicted a trade surplus and said, "Unprecedented financial opportunities exist for all of us in the U.S. shipping industry." With longshoremen working as usual and PMA getting out of paying PGP, welfare, and July 4 holiday pay, shipping interests can expect even greater profits. Right, Harry?

Time to strike!

Bridges is trying to punish us for voting down the last contract offer. We can't take this lying down. Bridges sabotaged the last Local 10 meeting by having his supporters stall for two hours with financial nit-picking. Our president, Larry Wing, fell right into this. Then Bridges had his supporters adjourn the meeting as soon as he and Chester had given reports that viciously attacked everyone who opposed the last contract. We need to organize a special local meeting before the contract expires July 1st to discuss what to do. We should take a strike vote and call on other locals to join us in authorizing a coastwide strike. We must elect a strike committee to run a winning strike. We have to act now to put an end to the international's sabotage.

NEW PMA ATTACKS!

Attention! All Longshoremen!

Come to the Emergency Executive Board Meeting:
Time: Thursday October 30, 8:00 P.M.
Place: View Room

Our Jobs Are At Stake!

EXECUTIVE BOARD VOTES TO STRIKE FOR JOBS

Thursday night the Executive Board voted for the following motion:

1. "We turn down the PMA's demands on the boards, refuse to negotiate and take the issue to the membership.
2. ILWU Local 10 opposes all the cutbacks and revisions made by PMA and the arbitrator on boards, gangs and PGP. We demand full PGP for all members including the Dock Exemption Board and call back rights for B men. We demand jobs for all longshoremen by a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay, whereby all available work is divided among all members. The local will take strike action to enforce these demands and calls on other ports to join us in solidarity.
3. To open up miscellaneous categories and all steady categories to disabled longshoremen.

This motion was passed in response to the latest series of PMA attacks. Gangs are being reduced. Both the day and night general dock boards are slated to be completely eliminated. So too are the dock exemption board and the car board. Men with partial disabilities are being forced to jump from board to board and run back and forth to the doctor. The weekly PGP has been cut up to 40%. Shortfall payments, despite promises from PMA and the International, have been cut 66%. (In Canada, the supplemental pay plan has already gone bankrupt!) Rumors are circulating openly that there will be massive deregistration and layoffs of up to 1000 A and B men under the "unusual circumstances" layoff provision of the contract.

The membership must see to it that this strike vote is carried out. No nickel and dime maneuvers can save all of us our jobs. Our strike must demand a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay where all jobs are divided equally among all the men to provide work for all at a full week's pay.

This must be the first item on the agenda Thursday night. While the Wing and Smith trial committee reports must be fully and fairly heard, nothing is more important than our jobs! Under the trial rules, each committee member and defendant is entitled to an individual report--a device which can deliberately be used by the pro-International forces to block any vote on strike action.

COME TO THE MEETING PREPARED TO PUT THE STRIKE MOTION 1st ON THE AGENDA AND VOTE FOR A STRIKE FOR OUR JOBS!

R. Garcia 6260, Executive Board
S. Gow 4498, Executive Board
H. Keylor 20447, Executive Board
R. Lamson 7359, Steward
F. Cabrales 6682, Steward
A. Axionoff 7935
Bob Hansen 6496

-LABOR DONATED-

Oct. 13, 1975

L/W CAUCUS INSPIRED RLAC STATEMENTS

Text of Coast Committee Letter to Local 10 on PGP (Oct. 17, 1975)

Gentlemen:

The Joint PGP Survey Team met with your Committee on October 3, 1975 to review administration of the Pay Guarantee Plan and subsequently visited the Joint Dispatch Hall on October 8, 1975 to further review dispatch procedures.

The Joint Coast Labor Relations Committee, under the provisions of Item II B. 7 of the July 1, 1975 Memorandum of Understanding, has received and endorsed the following recommendations of the Joint PGP Survey Team which are hereby submitted to the local parties:

1. Elimination of obsolete or unnecessary dispatch boards--Item II B 3 (a)

(a) East Bay Terminal Boards. Present usage of these boards is by approximately 6 to 10 men. These boards were developed 13 years ago at the time of the Local 6 and 10 merger. Continuation of these boards is no longer necessary. Experienced Lift Drivers on these boards should be permitted to sign in on the regular Lift Driver Board.

(b) Car Board. This board, utilized on the day shift only by approximately 80 men, is no longer necessary. It was established many years ago when car work was more predominant and when a special "Carloading Agreement" was in existence. The work involved is dock work which can be dispatched from the "Dock Board."

(c) Extra Gang Bosses. This board, utilized by approximately 12 extra bosses, is no longer necessary. These men can check in on another board and be identified by an "Extra Gang Bosses' List" so as to have first preference for these jobs.

(d) Dock Exemption Board. This board, which covers men medically exempt to perform various jobs, was unilaterally established by and is controlled by the Union. It is not necessary, and the preferential "Dock Only" list together with the joint issuance of "Dock Only" cards under the provisions of Section 3.133(a) should suffice.

2. Workforce assignment--days vs. nights--Item II B 3 (b)

It is recommended that the local parties develop facts and statistics as to the proper ratio of day men vs. night men and, if necessary, adjust and assign the workforce accordingly.

3. Gang members--availability

Implement Item II B 3 (d) of the July 1, 1975 Memorandum by adopting a Joint LRC rule governing availability of gang members when their gangs are not working.

4. Longshoremen assigned to Clerks' dispatching hall

The number of longshoremen assigned to the Clerks' dispatching hall should relate to available Clerks' work. Due to the current situation involving greatly reduced work opportunity at the Clerks' hall, the 50 to 60 longshoremen assigned there should be returned to the Longshore dispatching hall.

5. LMO sign-in hours

A regular checking of LMO sign-in hours should include a determination of men signing in with no apparent intent to work but for the purpose of collecting PGP whenever possible, such as those individuals who (a) sign in with high hours to avoid dispatch or (b) consistently "flop" rather than accept work assignments.

6. "B" men--sign-in procedures

There should be a weekly spot check made of the current "B" man sign-in procedure on an unscheduled basis. (The dispatchers shall check and verify the identification of each "B" man who shall be permitted to sign-in for himself only.)

7. Monthly report--high payments

The monthly report of PGP payments prepared by PMA should be carefully scrutinized. It is recommended that each month those men (such as the high 50) with the highest PGP payments per work hours be analyzed as to why such payments were made. They should be cited to appear before the Joint LRC to explain such eligibility. Violaters should be appropriately disciplined.

8. Employment of casuals--weekends

The Joint LRC should develop procedures and/or scheduling of the workforce to eliminate or minimize the use of casuals on weekends.

JOINT COAST LABOR RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Signed by: William Ward
Fred Huntsinger
(for the union)

Holtgrave
(for the employer)

LONGSHORE MILITANT

Issue no.9 Published by Stan Gow & Howard Keylor July 7, 1975

(415) 824-0439 P.O. Box 33 El Cerrito, CA 94530 labor donated

Reject The Contract! *Fight For Jobs!*

Dozens of members have been asking us what's in the new contract proposals. We won't have the exact language until the caucus meets on the 10th of July. Bridges may stall on printing up and distributing the contract until just before the vote in hopes of railroading it through. However, at the last local 10 stewards council, Tom Lupher and Andy Dulaney gave us a report. They were at the last couple days of negotiations. The facts contained in this leaflet are largely based on their report of the contract. The stewards council passed a motion demanding that the full terms be printed by the officers and distributed to the membership as soon as possible!

After delaying the start of negotiations 19 days and meeting almost 1½ months, the Negotiating Committee came back with a package that is almost the same as the last one we rejected twice. In fact, it may be worse since it's for three years instead of two... that's three years before we could get a better deal, three years of lost jobs and wages eaten up by inflation! We have to reject this contract and strike! Bridges is trying to beat us down and wear us out. We have to act decisively.

Longshoremen want jobs! It's obvious that the employers want to drastically reduce the longshore workforce in the next period. Here's what Bridges' Negotiating Committee came back with:

1-Manning: Nothing on manning. We have to have a manning scale on all operations--at at least the East Coast scale.

2-Jurisdiction: They didn't even try to nail down the LASH barge jobs,but just got some phoney language about working out, at a later date, an increase on the "tax" to be paid when our work is done by non-longshoremen. We need jobs, not "taxes", and we doubt if the tax is being paid now. A court can always come in and declare the "tax" illegal. We need full ILWU jurisdiction on all West Coast longshore work.

3-Money: Same as the last offer for the first 2 years, more in the third--70¢ for '75, 65¢ for '76, 85¢ for '77, with three more paid holidays in the third year. No cost-of-living agreement, so in three years we will still lose money to inflation. We need a 100% cost-of-living clause and a big raise.

4-Shorter work shift with no loss in pay: PMA and the union will "discuss this during the life of the contract" and might put 7 hours work for 7 hours pay into effect at the end of 3 years. To hell with that! We need a 6 hour shift at 8 hours pay right now to make enough work to go around.

5-Steady men: No steady men will be called back to the hall. Future steady men will have to be already skilled men but if the men on the skills boards refuse the jobs,PMA can take non-skilled men and train them. Isn't that what Crescent did last year? Steady skilled men can be limited to working a maximum of 156 hours in San Francisco, 176 in Los Angeles per month. But they will still be guaranteed 40 hours pay a week and their income will still be way ahead of hall skilled men on PGP. This equalization formula is a fake. The only real equalization is to abolish steady men and go back to dispatching everyone from the hall on the low man out formula. That's what we have to fight for.

We disagree with the brothers who see the individual steady men as the enemy. We say that the International leaders who put steady men in the contract and the local leaders who encouraged men to go steady are to blame for this cancer. Take steady men out of the contract and fight for jobs!

6-Pensions:	Men now retired	Future pensioners
	$25 increase now,	1975- $50 increase
	nothing for 3 more years	1976- $25 increase
		1977- $25 increase

Looks like the International has caved in to PMA's attempt to drive a wedge between pensioners and working longshoremen. To those brothers who will retire within the next 3 years: Will you too be left behind after 1977? Every pensioner and his widow should get paid the highest rate offered with 100% COLA.

7-Same PGP rules: The area arbitrator still has complete dictatorial power over administering PGP. If this contract goes through we can expect boards to be eliminated, men assigned to days off, and men shifted from nights to days. Within a short time we'll all (except the steady men) be working 2 or 3 days a week and living on the PGP. If there are any "illegal" work stoppages in the port, we all lose the PGP for the week. Who decides what's an illegal work stoppage? The arbitrator. We say: No arbitrators! Full right to strike and stop work!

8-Job security and the threat of layoffs: No job protection and a limited PGP. The fund amounts to about $1000 per man per year. What happens to us when it runs out? Auto workers who have something like the PGP in the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) just had the hard experience of seeing the Chrysler and General Motors SUB funds run out on them. Recently the ILA had to go on strike in Boston and Montreal when the company cutback the PGP.

Within three years there will be few skilled jobs in the hall. Most dock, car, lash, and hold jobs will be gone. Steady men will be working 156 hours a month (at least) and most of us will be unneeded if we let this trend continue. The PGP is welfare that PMA can cancel any time. It doesn't protect our jobs. We have to fight for a shorter work shift with no loss in pay to make enough jobs to go around!

Where Do We Go From Here?

This contract offer is as bad as the one we just rejected...probably worse because instead of running for two years, it runs for three. In that third year inflation can eat up the money, and it means three more years till we can try for a better deal. Last October we warned that Bridges' proposal to go into early negotiations, for the money items only, was a recipe for disaster. The caucus bought Bridges' early negotiations plan and his last contract offer. The membership turned it down. We have to turn this offer down too and fight for job security. That fight can only be won with a strike.

Call An Emergency Membership Meeting!

It's very late, but not too late. We've been circulating a petition for a special membership meeting to discuss the contract and over 200 signatures have been turned in to the president's office. Wing doesn't want a meeting and seems unwilling to fight Bridges; we have to put the heat on him. We need a meeting immediately to hear a full report on the contract and have a thorough discussion of what to do next. At that meeting we should: 1)Take a vote expressing our willingness to strike for job security; 2) Elect a rank and file strike committee, recallable at any time, to conduct the strike; 3) Call upon the other Locals to do the same.

We've been led into a no-win, defeatist position but the rank and file can still take control of the fight and win.

Bridges' intention is to isolate us so that we won't fight. Bridges knows that with a 2-year contract we would be within 3 months of the ILA termination date. What we really need are one-year contracts with a common expiration date for all longshore contracts, mainland U.S., Canada, Hawaii, and the ILA.

The West Coast maritime unions are in contract negotiations, but we haven't heard a whisper about asking them to join us in a fight for jobs.

In the long run we have to build a movement in this union that will organize the ranks to throw out these cowards, incompetents, and fakers and elect a leadership that will tell us the truth, fight to defend our jobs and to make our union stronger.

Our Contract Demands

1- Maximum one-year contract length. Common expiration date for all longshore contracts--U.S. mainland, Hawaii, Canada, and the ILA.

2- Full union control over the dispatch hall and work. A manning scale on every job for longshoremen and clerks--at least the East Coast scale. No arbitration, full right to strike or stop work over safety, conditions, and all other union issues and in defense of other workers.

3- 6 hours work for 8 hours pay. No extended shifts. Keep on reducing the hours and raising the pay to make jobs for young people, women, and minorities. We want a fully integrated union.

4- No steady men. (9.43, Crane supplement, etc.) Low man out system on all jobs. Skill training for all at PMA's expense. Get rid of the request system for clerks.

5- No deregistrations of A or B men. Full A status for all B men, terminal warehouse workers, weighers and strappers, grain elevators, etc. No second class citizens in this union.

6- A big raise to catch up with inflation. A 100% cost-of-living escalator calculated monthly.

7- Full ILWU jurisdiction on all West Coast longshore work. No divisive raiding.

8- Pensions...every retired member and his widow gets the same pension paid at the highest rate with full COLA.

FULL A STATUS FOR ALL LONGSHOREMEN!

We are reprinting below a very interesting leaflet put out by the Los Angles Terminal warehousemen (TW's). The latest contract proposal fails to deal with the question of full A status to all B men, TW's, weighers and strappers, grain elevator workers, and similar categories of longshoremen. One of the most important contract demands we've raised is full A status to all longshoremen. These classifications of 2nd and 3rd class longshoremen, combined with the steady man system have turned our union into a caste system which the employers are happy to use to play one group off against another. We say abolish steady men and promote all the B men and TW's. The leadership of this union has no intention of fighting PMA for Registration. The December caucus defeated a motion to promote all B men to A status during the life of the next contract and simply called for repetition of the 1973 contract language which lets PMA block promotions. The April Caucus didn't even take up the issue.

The brothers from LA indicate that Rubio and other union officials who they had trusted let them down. Rubio, as we warned at the convention, is no alternative to Bridges. With the election over he quickly forgot his promises to help the TW's and the Hueneme B men. LA TW's have been longshoremen for at least 6 years. 200 of them are still unregistered although they are full union members and the local wants them registered. PMA refuses. In Port Hueneme work is scarce, and around 55 B men are anxious to transfer to LA where there is work. These brothers have an average of 9 years on the waterfront and this transfer should be part of the new contract also.

* *

ACTION NOW

Recently the T.W. Registration and Jobs Committee sent four committee members to negotiations in San Francisco. Their purpose was to find out what actions were being taken regarding the approved proposal for joint registration of T.W.'s and the transfer of class "B" men from Port Hueneme. This was done with committee funds. The proposal was to negotiate, at the time of contract negotiations, the joint registration of T.W.'s within the life of the contract. And to transfer class "B" men from Port Hueneme at the same time.

Over a month ago our elected negotiator, Rudy Rubio, promised us that he would take the proposal and push it at negotiations. He also promised to notify us the day before the proposal was brought up. Rudy said this would probably happen in, "This week or next..." We put our faith in this man. After a month without word or action from Rudy, we knew we should look for ourselves. In San Francisco we found these things: Rudy had gone on vacation and Nate DiBiasi the alternate negotiator explained he had no prior knowledge of the proposal. However he did point out that he had been very thouroughly briefed on 99% of the matters of negotiations; he had Rudy's notebook pertaining to contract matters, but to our amazement the proposal was not to be found.

While there we tried to meet with Bill Ward, Fred Huntzinger, Harry Bridges, Bill Chester, of the Coast Committee. We were shuffled aside and met once again with Nate, who was willing to listen to our suggestions on registration and criteria for registration and transfers.

For six years the T.W.'s have patiently waited on the promises of the union officials. We have worked closely in the past six months, with the present officials. They have disappointed us. Our families are tired of excuses instead of money, vacations, and medical coverage. They pressure us; we can no longer stand by in shame. This has come to be a fight for our jobs. We are tired of, and through with promises. We want action.

ACTION NOW!

Terminal Warehousemen
registration and Jobs Committee

LONGSHORE MILITANT

Issue No. 12 Published by Stan Gow & Howard Keylor Oct. 1, 1975

(415)824-0439 P.O. Box 33, El Cerrito, Ca. 94530 labor donated

PGP, Boards, Gangs –

STOP THE CUTS!

Stan Gow introduced this motion at the Executive Board Thursday night:

> "We reject the arbitrator's decision on dock board and gang reductions and demand full PGP payments. B men shall continue to be dispatched as before with the right to call backs. The Local will take all necessary action including a strike to enforce these positions and will notify other locals of this action, calling on them to support us and take similar action."

Watkins' gang shouted Stan down. No one on the Board seconded the motion.

This ruling by the area arbitrator is a vital test. Probably the single most dangerous part of the new contract is the virtually complete control it gives the area arbitrator over the dispatch hall and work rules. If we don't draw the line now, Barsimian, who used to work for PMA, will have a free hand in the coming months to rewrite the contract in PMA's favor. That's what Watkins' refusal to fight means.

Brothers, vigorous action by the Local is the only road forward. We are reaching a turning point. Week after week we are being shorted on the PGP. Rumor has it that next week the PGP will be cut by 31%! The elimination of gangs and the drastic cut in the night dock board means the permanent loss of jobs and manning scales. Unless we undertake a fight to defend our job security, more and more of us will be forced from the docks. Its already happened to the '69 B men--of the original 700, over half have been forced to give up, unable to support their families on next to nothing. PMA wants a workforce of 800-900 in this port. Those A men they can't starve out ultimately will be laid off under the "unusual circumstances" layoff provision in the contract.

Our local leadership has no program to fight PMA. Smith, Mosely and Watkins pushed hard for the present contract. Wing, Kaye and Mills supported it too, only in a 2 year form. Since the contract was signed, the pro-Bridges forces have tried to involve us in a potentially bloody raiding war to distract attention from the terms of the contract. The endless series of charges and countercharges that flowed from the attempted raiding have paralyzed the Local while the

contd. p. 2

PORTUGAL: Break With the Army!

The situation for the working class in Portugal today is rife with danger. After five decades of rightist dictatorship, the working class and peasants are making demands and taking actions that go beyond the limits of the capitalist system and the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) is swinging rapidly to the right. For two months this summer, reactionary mobs ran wild, burning down the headquarters of working class parties, particularly the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and beating their members. Having witnessed the formation of independent soldiers committees which are defying the official MFA officer corps; the imposition of workers control in factories and the formation of some workers militias; the organization of the unemployed, housewives, workers and old people in neighborhood commissions which have protested high prices and rent hikes, the generals and the big businesses who support them have decided things have gone far enough. The MFA leadership is particularly anxious to crack down because for the first time sections of the work-

contd. p.3

arbitrator made his move. At the membership meeting, instead of mapping out a counterattack to Barsimian's rulings, we were tied up with petitions to remove Wing and Smith from office.

Wing, whose principled refusal to raid could have been a first step in uniting with other maritime unions in a fight against PMA for jobs, refused to mobilize the ranks to back him up. Instead, he dragged the Local into the bosses' court, opening the door for heavy fines and more government control.

Disgusted with the raiding and the court suit, the membership allowed trial committees to be set up for both Smith and Wing. The positive response to the proposal that both sides drop charges (put forward by Archie Brown and by the Longshore Militant and arbitrarily ruled out of order by Watkins) was the first sign that supporters of both camps have begun to realize their leaders have no solution.

There is a real danger that while the Local is divided and virtually paralyzed with the internal wrangling Bridges will slap the Local into receivership. He hinted at it when he announced that by debating the two petitions the Local had continuously violated its own Constitution.

Receivership would tie our hands and give Bridges the green light to enforce PMA's contractyterms. Everyone concerned with saving our jobs must fight like hell to stop any receivership move by Bridges.

The first step must be demanding that the infighting be stopped and all charges dropped. To its credit, recognizing that raiding is a violation of basic trade union principles, the trial committee exonerated Wing of any "misfeasance or malfeasance" on this score. Wing's conviction for refusing to step down from office when the petitions were filed against him must be reversed. He was simply following the August membership ruling taken in 5 separate votes that without specific acts the charges of misfeasance and malfeasance were improper. Reversing the trial committee on this point simply upholds the principle that the membership meetings are the highest policy making body in the Local. A reversal in no way is an endorsement of Wing's leadership or his unprincipled court suit.

The absolute bankruptcy of Smith and Mosely's raiding strategy was revealed at the Executive Board. Leonard, one of Bridges' lawyers, was forced to recommend to the Board that it cease fighting with other unions and try to reach an out-of-court settlement with them--in a hurry. He implied that in both the Middle Harbor and Pier 96 disputes the ILWU was going to lose its shirt.

It came out that in the case of both the Carpenters and Painters locals the argument that they have no minority members simply isn't true. This had been advanced as one of the excuses to justify raiding although as we've repeatedly said, this was a hypocritical cover for unprincipled union action and by that standard the Postal Clerks could raid some of our clerk and longshore locals which have few black members.

The Executive voted to set up a committee to try to work out a settlement with the other unions which is a step forward. But it refused to accept Gow's amendment to have the officers of our union meet face to face with the officers of the other unions, instead of leaving it to the attorneys to work out. Thus, while Watkins and Co. have taken some well deserved shots at Wing for his unprincipled suit against our union, they are keeping their own options open to resume their suits against other unions!

The program which was actually adopted by the Executive Board in response to the arbitrator's ruling will set the membership fighting each other over crumbs. They justified accepting the cut from 300 to 50 on the night dock board on the grounds that this would end the gravy and provide more PGP for the rest of us. Who are they kidding! 250 jobs have been eliminated with the result of increased competition for the remaining day jobs. The other 50 jobs have been restricted to those over 55 and disabled! The PGP will go just as fast. Only PMA will benefit. They'll reduce the tax money they have to pay towards unemployment insurance since the 250 men forced off the night dock board will probably get just enough work to disqualify them for unemployment benefits.

The Executive also voted to request 100 more openings on the skill boards. While

we are for skilled training for all at company expense, without a fight for more total jobs, opening the skill boards will simply set off a mad scramble, leaving no one enough work. Men with high seniority may even decide to bid off the skill boards to bump linesmen or hook-on men. Eliminating the B men's right to call backs will simply embitter them against the union and aid PMA in its open drive to starve them off the docks. Under the Executive Board's policy, the divisions which already exist between 9.43 men and hall men will now expand to set hall men against each other.

There is only one solution--more jobs! This means a drastically reduced work shift at no loss in pay, and obtaining jurisdiction over barge work, organizing where necessary. In the meantime, we must draw the line to preserve what we have. PMA has the money. In the last decade productivity has increased well over 200%. Last year PMA made record profits. Should a successful defensive struggle be launched, the basis for a real fight for a shorter work shift, adequate manning scales, a full c-o-l and the unrestricted right to strike would be laid.

Determined action at this point could be successful. A local work stoppage would dramatize the seriousness of the situation to the entire coast. Faced with a sharp drop in jobs, LA is beginning to be hurt by the cut in PGP. We joined them in rejecting the contract; if they saw we were serious they would join us now. A well organized rank and file could spread strike action to other ports. As we warned, the whole contract is rotten and must be junked. All those who recommended it to the membership, Smith, Wing, Archie Brown, etc., bear direct responsibility for the PMA attacks now being made through the contract. Local 10 must lead a fight to reject the arbitrator's decisions and strike to defend what we have, laying the basis for coastwide action:

NO REDUCTION IN PGP!

NO CUTS IN THE NUMBER OF GANGS OR MEN ON THE

NIGHT DOCK BOARD!

CALL BACK RIGHTS FOR B MEN !

- -

PORTUGAL ....Cont'd

ing class and rank and file soldiers are beginning to organize independently of the MFA and in opposition to it. These militants have realized that,"socialist" rhetoric or not, the MFA stands for the continuation of capitalist exploitation.

The generals are losing no time. They've already ousted top-ranking officers who are sympathetic to the working class parties. Now they're planning a general purge of the military ranks. Admiral Azevedo, the new premier, has announced that all nationalizations of industry will cease, the private capitalist sector of the economy will be revitalized, and "severely repressive legislation against armed groups of civilians" will be passed. The guns they are after are in the hands of the workers. While the MFA does not yet feel strong enough to launch a direct assault on the workers, it's determined to seize these weapons so that the Portuguese working class can't fight back when the coup comes.

Recently, Archie Brown spoke at a forum on Portugal. He spent most of his time insisting on the "good will" of the military and said there was only one Communist Party member in the government because the PCP had gotten a "promise the government will carry out the revolutionary process." What he didn't say was that the right wing forces in the MFA had insisted on reducing the influence of the PCP in the government to practically nothing, and that the majority of the ministers in the government belong to the pro-capitalist parties which organized the wave of terror against the CP headquarters. Brown then characterized as "ultralefts" those who criticize the MFA. Standing History on its head, he argued that a split between the MFA and the working class would lead to a bloodbath. Just the opposite is the case! In fact, in recent weeks thousands of soldiers have begun forming a committee called "Soldiers United Will Win" which is independent of and against the military command structure of the MFA, insisting correctly on the danger of .."..submitting our struggle to the Alliance with the MFA.." Brown's position is like the one he took during the contract fight when he kept resisting strike talk because he didn't want to antagonize the PMA!

The policies Archie advocates for Portugal are the same ones that led to disaster in Chile. The Chilean workers' parties attempted major reforms without seeing the

Cont'd on p. 4

need for completely abolishing the old state and its key institutions, the army and the police. They failed to independently organize the working class-- either politically or militarily. Both Allende and Corvalan, head of the Chilean CP, consistently told the Chilean working class to have faith in the liberal capitalists and their allies, the "democratic" military. When the coup came, the workers were unprepared. Though they fought heroically, their sticks and stones were no match for tanks and airplanes. Allende and many others who believed capitalism could be reformed paid for their mistake with their lives.

In Portugal, the CP has been so anxious to pacify the military that it has laid the basis for its own isolation from the Portuguese working class. Until very recently, it denounced all strikes as the work of counter-revolutionaries. Last Spring it went so for as to organize its followers to cross postal workers' picket lines to force the postmen back to work. Together with the generals, it arranged to have all unions forced into one big federation with the CP in charge to enforce MFA labor policy. When certain militant trade union leaders resisted, the PCP stood by while they were jailed. Similarly, it said not a word when General Carvalho, one of the three generals presently ruling Portugal, arrested 500 Portuguese Maoists for organizing a demonstration against NATO and exposing the MFA's pro-capitalist policies.

Because of these actions many workers believed Soares, head of the "Socialist" Party, when he accused the PCP of wanting a dictatorship. Significant numbers of workers stood idly by while the Socialist Party, funded by the CIA, mobilized right wing mobs of small businessmen, rich farmers and ardent anti-labor followers of the Catholic church to attack CP headquarters. Some Maoists, anxious to get revenge on the CP and blind to the fact that an attack on one workers' organization leads to an attack on all, actually applauded the burnings!

The only chance the Portuguese working people have of defeating the counter-revolution now being planned by the right wing military is by forming their own independent organization of political and military power. Existing workers' committees and militias, soldiers' committees, popular vigilance committees, etc. must break politically with the MFA- who want only to maintain the old rule of the corporations and the rich landowners- and combine into a national democratically elected workers' and soldiers' council. Its first task would be a united military defense of all working class organizations and parties and soldiers' committees. Appeals should be made to those officers who claim to support the workers' struggles to submit themselves to the discipline of the soldiers' committees.

Such a national workers' and soldiers' council would pose very concretely the question of who shall rule and control society in Portugal, the workers or the capitalists represented by the MFA? Such a council would be a transition to the establishment of a genuine workers' government in Portugal. Repeating the errors of Chile, none of the existing workers' parties are willing to break completely with the MFA and struggle for a workers' government. This remains the main danger and obstacle to the workers' coming to power in Portugal.

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Publication of Longshore Militant depends on donations from workers in the industry. If you are interested in seeing a militant alternative to the policies now being pursued by all branches of the leadership, donate and subscribe to the Longshore Militant.

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10 issues for $2.00_____

Donation_____

Make checks payable to Stan Gow.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

Issue No. 13 Published by Howard Keylor and Stan Gow Nov. 3, 1975

Phone 564-8634 P.O. Box 33, El Cerrito Ca. 94530 Labor donated

FIGHT P.M.A. ATTACKS!

The recent recommendations by the PGP survey team--in reality, the Coast Committee--represent the most serious attack yet on our dispatch hall and our jobs. The employer clearly intends to run disabled men off the waterfront! Most of these men are disabled because of job-related injuries and PMA's disregard for safety conditions. PMA is also beginning a push to reduce the longshore workforce by at least half. Already rumors are circulating that PMA plans an attempt to de-register A men for allegedly holding other jobs!

Local 10 officials such as Acting President Watkins and Carl Smith are clearly feeling the heat from an angry rank and file. With elections coming up they're afraid to cave in completely, yet they desperately don't want to fight the employer and the International. So they're stalling and trying to look like they're putting up some sort of fight by trying to reach temporary compromises on most of what PMA wants. This course can only lead to disaster. Compromises won't work. PMA is perfectly capable of taking the compromise today and coming back for the rest of it next month. And some of the demands they're making this time around are clearly laying the basis for worse things yet to come. PMA wants to drive a lot of us off the waterfront for good.

What can we do? Demand a special membership meeting to put the full force of the membership behind the October 9 Executive Board motion to reject all PMA cuts and controls, demand full PGP payments for all members, cancel the contract and organize a strike to demand a shorter work day with no loss in pay. The only way to stop PMA is to mobilize the full force of the local to prepare for a strike and call on other locals to act in solidarity with us.

The real crime is that our union representatives on the Coast Committee, Bridges, Ward and Huntsinger have already agreed to these outrageous changes in dispatch and PGP rules! They did it completely behind the locals' backs! PMA has told the local that if it goes to arbitration we're sure to lose because the union's representatives have already agreed to it! And of course there's always the threat of PMA arbitrarily cancelling the PGP for the whole port.

(Cont. p. 2)

Free Philip Allen!

Philip Allen, a twenty year old black college student, is the victim of a savage racist frame-up by Los Angeles-area police and the "justice" system. He has recently received the maximum sentence of five years to life for assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer. The state claims that on New Year's eve, Allen, only 5'3" and 135 pounds, overpowered four hefty, fully-armed L.A. county deputy sheriffs, disarming one of them, killing another, and wounding still two more. All of this is supposed to have taken place while Allen was being held on the ground and beaten so severely that he required hospitalization after the arrest.

With a look at just some of the facts, the frame-up becomes obvious. No proof was ever offered that Allen ever held the gun that shot the deputies. In the investigation of the shooting, con-

(Cont. p. 3)

S.F. Elections...Pg. 4

Fight P.M.A. Attacks! (Cont. from p. 1)

What this stab in the back from Bridges, Ward and Huntsinger means is that we don't have any room to bluff. We can't stop PMA with talk. We have to prepare for a strike.

The Oct. 23 Executive Board Meeting

At the Oct. 23 Executive Board meeting, only the sixty-one longshoremen (many disabled) assigned to the clerks' hall were discussed. The officers' response was to recommend that we agree to bring twenty-six men back from the clerks' hall but try to work out a deal to keep the thirty-five high seniority men on the job. We pointed out that to assist PMA in eliminating these jobs would open us up to cooperating in our own defeat and that instead we should reject PMA's demands across the board and fight. The majority of the board voted for the compromise. Our motion for a special membership meeting to prepare to fight PMA was prevented from coming to a vote when several Executive Board members walked out to kill a quorum. At the same meeting, Acting President Watkins refused to accept a motion to comply with the constitution and hold a secret referendum on Wing's case. This action and Watkins' refusal to count the votes at the last membership meeting on whether to convict or exonerate Wing made it clear that the International supporters in the local want to keep the local in confusion and turmoil in order to aid PMA in putting across their attacks on the dispatch system. Railroading Wing was part of this strategy. We say hold the referendum and we call on the membership to stop the railroad.

The Emergency Executive Board Meeting

Only fourteen out of thirty-five Executive Board members showed up. We wanted to put up a motion to reject the employers' demands across the board, implement the Oct. 9 Executive Board motion, and call a special membership meeting for next week. Carl Smith and Watkins wanted to deal with PMA's demands piecemeal and the last thing they wanted was to let the membership discuss the situation. So there was a heated fight over the agenda. With Herb Mills' support, Smith and Watkinsvoted down our motion seven to six to have a general discussion on all eight demands. Motions were limited to counterproposals on point 8 of the PGP recommendations. And so the emergency Executive Board meeting was wasted away by the local's officials and little was accomplished.

The LRC Hearings

The next day at the LRC hearings (Friday, Oct. 31), PMA backed down on: (6) Forcing B men to identify themselves when signing in; and
(7) Forcing the highest fifty men on PGP to be dragged before a kangaroo court for punishment. PMA postponed arbitrating 2, 3, 4, 5, and 8. PMA, however, took an even harder stand than a week earlier on the East Bay terminal, extra gang boss, dock exemption, and car boards, insisting on their elimination as PGP "abuses." PMA also stood hard on its refusal to restore PGP payments to the dock exemption board. It seems that disabled men will be forced to accept jobs on the car board and if they can't handle the work they will be cut off the PGP and driven off the waterfront. PMA's posture on this point was so hard that the officers of the local were forced to put up a semblance of a fight. Carl Smith even threatened to call the 9.43 men back to the hall! Fighting the employer is something we've never seen Smith do so we aren't holding our breath. Forced by an angry rank and file to make a show of resistance, our officers will undoubtedly report a great victory in getting PMA to take a leg instead of the whole hog. PMA, however, will be back when things cool down, asking for more--and they've already got the International's blessings.

Where is this pattern of misleadership taking us? Within a few months, if we don't block PMA, we'll all be crowded onto a few boards fighting each other for fewer and fewer jobs. Most of us will be drawing PGP and getting a lot less than the full guarantee. Then PMA will start pushing for heavy layoffs. What can we do? Demand a special membership meeting and put the membership solidly behind the motion passed by the October 9 Executive Board to reject PMA's demands and demand full PGP and jobs for all through reducing the hours with no loss in pay and prepare to strike to back it up.

FREE PHILIP ALLEN (Cont. from p.1)

ducted by the Sheriff's Department, no fingerprints were found on the gun which Allen allegedly grabbed from Deputy Sheriff Grimes. No tests were ever done to see who actually shot the gun and there were no witnesses, not even Deputy Grimes, who saw Allen take the gun. The prosecutor tried to claim that the shooting was premeditated because Allen had taken some Black History courses in college and was out to get some white cops!

Now, in a gross violation of his right to free speech, Allen has been denied bail. On October 2, he had been granted a continuation of his bail, but after the prosecutor informed the judge that Allen had spoken at his own defense rally on the L.A. City College campus October 1 and was scheduled to appear at a rally for the San Quentin Six on October 4, bail was revoked. Because he continued to declare his innocence, Allen was called an "agitator" and a "poor bail risk" at his bail hearing October 7. These denials of bail are intended to gag Allen and keep him from campaigning for his own defense. He is now locked up in the state penitentiary at Chino, where, as a black and as an accused "cop-killer", his life is clearly in danger.

The successful perpetration of such a racist frame-up against Philip Allen represents a threat to the labor movement. In a depression, when masses of workers are hostile, the ruling class needs to divide them to prevent a unified working class offensive against the real sources of power. The capitalists and their flunkies call for "law and order" against blacks and other minorities and against all kinds of radicals and militants. Cops are given a free hand to execute suspects in the street. They have begun to flex their muscles by murdering young black men all around the U.S. Just in the Bay Area, we have seen the police murder of fourteen year old Tyrone Guyton in Emeryville in 1973 and of twenty-three year old Floyd Calhoun in Oakland on August 19, 1975.

If we allow the police to get away with these racist murders and frame-ups, they will soon extend their attacks to the entire labor movement. Let's not forget that two pro-union workers were shot dead in cold blood by the San Francisco police during the 1934 general strike. It is essential that the labor movement as a whole begins to demonstrate that we will not tolerate these racist attacks. The ILWU, with its traditional support for racial equality and integration, must take the lead in this struggle. We must point the way forward for the other unions. This is why we must be prepared to support the struggle for FREEDOM FOR PHILIP ALLEN and to END RACIST FRAME-UPS AND COP TERROR!

S.F. ELECTIONS (Cont. from p.4)

Voting down anti-labor propositions is necessary but it does not represent a long-term strategy for the San Francisco labor movement to win real gains or even defend the jobs and living standards of its members. Its time for San Francisco labor to wage its own political offensive--through a workers party based on the unions!

Continued publication of the Longshore Militant depends on donations from union members in the industry. If you are interested in seeing a militant alternative to the policies now being pursued by all levels of the ILWU leadership, donate and subscribe to the Longshore Militant.

$ 2 for 10 issues--make checks payable to Stan Gow

P.O. Box 33, El Cerrito, Ca. 94530

LONGSHORE MILITANT

special election edition

Issue No. 15 Published by Howard Keylor and Stan Gow Feb. 5, 1976

Phone (415)841-1982 P.O. Box 33, El Cerrito, Ca. 94530 Labor Donated

Vote for Gow and Keylor

For A Real Fight For Jobs!

These past few weeks two things happened that are going to shape the immediate future of the union. First, in spite of two-faced leadership, San Francisco longshoremen achieved a small but important victory. Second, a re-alignment and visible shift to the right -- in the opposite direction of the membership -- by the anti-International forces and coastwide local leaderships. The "good guys" are beginning to maneuver for a shot at the soon-to-be-vacated top spots in the union.

We suffered from months of PMA attacks on our dispatch system, boards, and job categories. Finally, after an unbroken string of defeats the membership declared that they'd had enough. The local moved unanimously to use the strike weapon and forced the PMA and their collaborator, the Coast Committee, to back down temporarily.

Now Bridges, at a meeting with the Standing Committees, claims that it was all a "misunderstanding", that there was no intention to force 20 to 25% of the A men and 95% of the B men off the PGP rolls, that they never meant to drive disabled men out of the industry and break up gangs. But no one, even with his brains knocked out, believes that these attacks on our jobs, attacks sanctioned by this rotten contract, will not continue to go on week by week. The PMA is determined to use the PGP section of the contract to force every hall man into competing for 1 or 2 days of work a week. They hope to starve us down and demoralize us so that, like starving wolves, we'll turn on each other instead of fighting against layoffs and deregistrations.

HOW DID WE GET INTO THIS BIND?

The disastrous record of Bridges' and Chester's stooges Mosley, Watkins, Smith, Lupher and others in putting us into this terrible trap is known to all. They shilled for the phony 1975 contract. They supported 9.43, preached weakness and defeat, and tried to divide the membership along lines of race, age and seniority. Finally, they promoted "compromise" and accomodation in response to the PMA attacks that followed. These International hacks embroiled the local in internal bickering and infighting by heavy handed and unconstitutional acts to paralyze the local and to remove their critics from office.

They even went to such lengths of degeneracy as to front for the shipowners by attempting strikebreaking and raiding the Seamen's unions -- an act that shamed and discredited us before the whole labor movement.

Finally, when their master, Harry Bridges, openly sided with the PMA last month on the " Hours Test Formula for the PGP Eligibility List " they were forced by the membership's outrage to propose strike action in order to protect their own political careers and then did everything they could to undermine and small change the members' decisions.

THE "GOOD GUYS" - NO PROGRAM, NO WIN

We have been saying for a long time that there is no principled difference between the pro-Bridges forces and the Local 10 "opposition" leaders. What's the track record of Wing, Kaye, Mills, Brown, Robinson and the other office-seekers grouped around them?

GOW and KEYLOR

For Caucus & Convention Delegate

While they criticized the phony '75 contract, these "leaders" proposed only piecemeal contract solutions to the desperate need for jobs, then they compromised and surrendered even these limited demands. But their greatest crime is their refusal to tell the ranks the truth, that only a strike would win jobs, a strike for a shorter work shift with no loss of pay. They took a complete dive by telling people it would be suicide to strike instead of proposing a strategy to the membership to prevent Bridges from again sabotaging a strike, including electing rank and file strike committees to link up coastwise to ensure that we control the action, not Bridges and Co.

ANOTHER DIVE

When the PMA, the arbitrator, and the Coast Committee started pushing us to the wall in October, the anti-international "opposition" again took a dive. While moaning and crying how terrible we were being treated, they cooperated in sabotaging any effort to allow the membership to even discuss the motion made by us and passed by the Oct. 9 Executive Board to reject all the cuts, prepare to strike for a shorter work shift with no pay loss to spread the work and build coastwise strike support.

"UNITY"--FOR BETRAYAL!

Following the Jan. 15 strike vote, there apparently was a coming together of these two rival factions, both having been frightened by the unanimous strike vote demanding action. It had already been rumored that Wing was only for holding the new PGP rule in abeyance, instead of striking to rescind it. Then, at the Jan. 22 Executive Board, neither the Wing forces nor the Bridges camp made any effort to conceal the honeymoon.

In fact, Lupher announced that he was proud to have worked closely with Larry Wing over the previous week. What this meant was clearly demonstrated when both pro-Bridges and anti-Bridges forces--Mills, Brown, Kaye, Smith, Mosely,etc.--accepted a settlement, without permitting a vote on it, to only "suspend the Hours Test Formula" despite the membership's vote to strike unless it was rescinded totally! As a result, the Coast LRC is going to "study" the problem some more and try again later. Then, with many shouts and boos, all followers of this opportunist alliance permitted the chair to rule out of order our motion for a special meeting where the members could vote on the settlement and consider further strike action to restore all the cuts in PGP, boards and gangs. Now, thanks to this sabotage, all the cuts remain, and there will be an even more drastic reduction in PGP payments after July 1, when by the contract, PMA reduces its payments into the PGP fund, while work continues to decline.

The B men were also victims of this bloc. The membership meeting, in an act of solidarity, voted to make all B men A men. The Executive Board bloc voted down our motion to give B men full voice and vote in the union immediately and make their promotion a strike issue.

All past differences were put aside in their joint effort to betray the membership when the possibility for real united union action was present.

NEW PROPOSALS, NEW GIMMICKS: THE GOAL IS HIGHER OFFICE

Now that the manuvers at the Executive Board level have succeeded in temporarily stifling the fight for jobs, the alliance is already showing signs of strain. There is considerable friction between the two camps and between factions within each camp. Wing seems to be moving closer to Smith/Lupher while Brown, Robinson and Dulaney seem to be linking up with Rubio from LA. Foremost in these politicians minds is the possibility of moving up to International office and Coast Committee. They know that the International officers have run out their string and that all of them could be dumped by a disgusted membership when Bridges and Goldblatt are finally forced to retire next year, or earlier. So a war of maneuver is developing in ports up and down the coast as local

bureaucrats jockey for a shot at the top spot.

Having undermined the Local 10 strike, to attract votes and to cover-up the dirty work, all the local factions are attempting to strike a militant pose while in fact shifting clearly to the right. Each has a different solution to the problems. But the one thing they have in common is they won't call for dumping the contract and striking for jobs. The used car salesmen are at it again.

Bridges and his cronies pretend they'll lead a strike July 1st if PMA doesn't put more money in the PGP fund. (And what will you propose t: give up in return Harry?) Hogan and some others are pushing 7 hours work for 7 hours pay. This means 12% less in our pockets and fast turn around for the shippers.

Then there's the old snake oil remedies being pushed by Archie Brown: "enforce the 9.43 Equalization formula" (but what about abolishing steadymen!); "get the container work" (which was a con from the beginning and was lost years ago by court order); "call a caucus" (more talk, no action). Brown's position that some solution can be worked out under the present contract if only the International leadership would "work for us" puts him on the same ground as Mosely. Both want this lousy contract "fairly" enforced. But Brown's posture is no surprise. As we've consistently pointed out, this phoney has been the leftwing cover for the Bridges camp for years.

RUBIO--THE NEW BRIDGES?

The strategy of both camps is to work within the system, to take pot shots at the lameduck International officers so they look good but without rocking the boat too much. They even brought Rubio up from LA to divert attention from the strike vote with his phoney scheme to pressure the Coast Committee by withholding pro rata payments. This penny ante maneuver, reportedly endorsed by the Seattle local president too, is a substitute for a fight to force the traitors in the International to resign.

While pro and anti-Bridges forces all rolled out the red carpet for Rubio and his timid proposal, he dropped ominous hints that LA longshoremen would not support a strike by Local 10. Of course, Rubio, a member of the Negotiating Committee, recommended a 'yes' vote on the '75 contract from the get go. To make sure that his local didn't support us, he deliberately lied about our strike vote. The Local 13 Bulletin of Jan. 19 merely states that Local 10 "unanimously voted that some type of action be taken immediately against the Coast Committee."

The cliques are shifting but the lashup is clear. From SF to LA to Seattle, the Bridges machine and its loyal opposition will do anything to avoid taking on PMA in a fight for jobs.

It's clear the pro-Bridges bureaucracy has to be thrown out. But let us ask these guys who want to replace them a flat-out question. Brothers Wing, Kaye, Mills, Dulaney, Austin, Brown, Robinson, Hogan, Theriault, Ackerman, etc: Do you believe that the time has come to dump the contract? How do you propose to win jobs (if you do) without a strike?

VOTE FOR GOW AND KEYLOR

Many brothers are hoping desperately that some of these "anti-Bridges" guys might just show a little fight at the next caucus. We've watched them compromise membership interests too many times to breed such illusions. We can recommend none of these men for office in the upcoming elections.

All members should vote to overturn the Trial Committee's decision to find Wing guilty of misfeasance and malfeasance. We believe that opposing strikebreaking and raiding is not a basis for such charges. Despite the deliberately misleading language on the ballot asking, "Do

you agree to retain Larry Wing as President", a "yes" vote repudiates strikebreaking and raiding and in no way endorses Wing's policies of compromise and collaboration. Nor does it endorse his repeated attempts to take the union into the capitalist courts. We are opposed 100% to any government interference in the union.

We don't view running for office as a popularity contest. Rather, a vote for us is a vote for a program to win. Election as Caucus and Convention delegates will give us the ability to reach the entire longshore division with that program and urge them to join in a real fight for jobs.

HOWARD KEYLOR 39A

STAN GOW 41C

SAN FRANCISCO ELECTIONS:

NO CANDIDATE WORTH VOTING FOR!

Over the last few years longshoremen have had plenty of opportunity to see how much the Bridges alliance with Alioto and the Democratic Party has cost our union. The whole strategy of relying on "friends of labor" like Alioto means giving bureaucrats like Bridges a free hand to sell out the membership of the unions in return for a worthless alliance with the Democratic Party. For example, when the Alioto family wanted to buy our hiring hall at a ridiculously low price, Bridges tried to force the local to sell. When Alioto's PFEL decided it wanted to further weaken the ILWU, Bridges gave away our jurisdiction over the LASH barge work in Stockton without a word of complaint. When Alioto launched Operation Zebra (whose main function was to whip up racial hysteria and unleash the racist cops against black people instead of catch killers) our union never even protested. Any black male in San Francisco was subject to being stopped by the racist cops--yet the International didn't even withdraw support from Alioto's campaign for governor! And recently when PFEL wanted to break the SUP strike, the International tried to force our local to raid the SUP and act as strike breakers!

Continuing the pattern, the ILWU endorsement for mayor has been given to George Moscone who is obviously trying to follow in Alioto's footsteps. Moscone doesn't own any shipping lines--at least not yet--but the history of the alliance between Alioto and Bridges makes it clear that our union and every union has to break with the Democratic and Republican parties. Neither of the capitalist parties offer any alternative for labor. We would advise union members to save their votes and organize for an independent labor slate for future elections as part of the fight to build a workers political party based on the unions. By a workers party we don't mean a reformist, sell-out party like the British Labor Party, but a party based on the program the Longshore Militant has fought for, a workers party that will fight for a workers government.

Vote Down Anti-Labor Propositions!

There is a series of propositions on the ballot that attack the pay, the union rights and the jobs of city workers. Proposition "B" would cut the pay of city craft workers. It is modeled on the Proposition "L" that was defeated at the polls last year. It is important to vote no on "B" as an elementary act of labor solidarity. There are several propositions that attack police and firemen. These have to be opposed because firemen are a legitimate part of the labor movement and are workers that perform a vital service. Policemen, however, are not workers and we are for throwing these strike breakers and racist killers out of the union movement. Police "unions" frequently "strike" for better riot equipment and more freedom to harass and shoot down minorities. We don't want the cops to have unions any more than we want them to have guns. It was a disgrace to our union that Larry Wing gave the local's support to the last cop "strike". Propositions "O" and "R" try to take the right to strike away from police and firemen. We call for a no vote on both. Also vote no on "P" which attacks police and firemen's wages.

Proposition "N" would take emergency power away from the Mayor--we can vote for that. Emergency powers are inherently undemocratic and dangerous.

(Cont. p. 3)

LONGSHORE-WAREHOUSE MILITANT

Joint Issue # 3 | Published by the Militant Caucus | April 5, 1976

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Defend The City Workers

For A City-Wide General Strike!

Brothers and Sisters,

We are a group of rank and file militants, stewards and executive board members active in the longshore and warehouse unions. We are fighting in our unions for an immediate general strike to defend the city workers. We believe that the defeat of the present craft workers strike would pose a grave threat to all labor in the Bay Area.

Thus we feel it's vital to appeal to other workers in other unions to take up the fight to defend the strike. While our views do not represent any official position taken by our union, we believe they present a correct strategy for defending the city workers. This is particularly so in light of the hypocritical, demagogic, dangerous proposal made by the Board of Supervisors to put the terms of the contract to the public for a vote. We reprint below a slightly edited version of the leaflet we are distributing inside our union:

The strike of SF city workers is reaching a critical point. The capitalist city government has laid a trap for unionized municipal workers, trying to play the lower-paid off against the higher-paid. So far, with the conscious aid of union misleaders like Crowley, Twoomey (SEIU), Smith (Building Trades), and Mazzola (Plumbers), this old divide-and-conquer scheme has worked. Unless all unions in the city are mobilized in a general strike in their defense, the strikers face imminent defeat.

The labor leadership has deliberately bargained separately for each group of city workers. They've refused to call for a joint strike of all city workers to smash the union-busting Prop. B and to win job security through a shorter work week at no loss in pay, high wages and a full COLA for all. Crowley and Co. have saddled nearly 18,000 unskilled workers with an agreement that gives an average measly 7% raise! Disgusted and demoralized by their leadership's acceptance of this package, hundreds of lower-paid workers have fallen into the city's trap and are crossing the craft workers' picket lines.

This scabbing must be stopped at once. It can only lead to a defeat for all of organized labor. Once unions begin to cross each others' picket lines, workers have no defense. All strikes are endangered. The employers feel free to hire scabs. In fact, if the Local 6 Clinical Specialties strike (where San Francisco police have been escorting scabs through picket lines for over a month) is any indication, when the warehouse contract expires June 1, widespread recruitment of scabs is likely to occur.

Divisions in the ranks of labor encourage the employers to attack harder. The Board of Supervisors has already announced it will sponsor a city charter amendment banning strikes by all city workers--skilled and unskilled alike! On the federal level, Senate Bill 1 will give the government authority to make preventive arrests against union leaders.

Behind the attack on the craft workers is the Chamber of Commerce. Anxious to shift the cost of the depression onto the workers' backs, the Chamber has conducted a massive propaganda campaign to blame high wages for bankrupting the city. This has contributed to the willingness of some workers to cross the picket lines. Faced with rising property taxes, many middle class and even working class people bought the Chamber's line and voted for Prop B. to reduce craft pay.

But nothing could be further from the truth. Rising prices which exhaust city funds come from the inflation which is plaguing capitalism worldwide, fanned by monopoly price fixing. With prices soaring, we all should be fighting for high wages instead of letting the craft workers get cut down. Defeat of the strike will strengthen the employers' drive to hold down all wages in the Bay Area.

By far the greatest drain on the city treasury is the city debt. Millions upon millions of dollars are spent yearly paying interest to the Bank of America, Wells Fargo, etc. and big bondholders. Of course, while raising property taxes on the poor and middle income people, the capitalist city government continually gives tax breaks to the massive corporations which dominate the city economy.

A general strike to defend the city workers must demand that the city debt be cancelled and the banks expropriated without compensation. Such a demand could rally small property owners behind the labor movement. It could rally the poor who are the first to suffer when bankrupt city transport, hospital and educational services are cut back. But Crowley and Co. would rather see city workers go down to defeat than raise such a demand. It poses a direct challenge to the profit system and would mean rupturing the labor bureaucrats' ties to the Democratic Party. For Mazzola and friends, this would mean losing lucrative and prestigious posts in the city government.

Instead of seriously preparing the workers for a general strike, they continue to crawl to the government proposing first a "neutral" arbitrator--notorious racist capitalist politicians like Alioto and Christopher--and now binding arbitration. Similarly, when Prop. B was on the ballot, instead of calling a political general strike to oppose it, the SF labor bureaucrats formed a coalition to stop Prop. B...with Alioto at its head! Their slogan? "Prevent City Strikes...Defeat Prop. B".

If the labor movement is to defend itself, we must dump Crowley and Co. in favor of a leadership which is willing to fight up to the point of abolishing the capitalist system in favor of a workers government.

Defeat of the strike will weaken all unions in the Bay Area and adversely affect all other negotiations, such as ILWU-IBT bargaining which is going on right now. So the ILWU must take the lead in defending the city workers.

The ILWU has had enough experience with divide-and-conquer tactics to know they mean disaster. At Boron, we paid for scabbing with 3 dead in industrial accidents in one six-week period alone! This fall, longshoremen repudiated an attempt to drag Local 10 into a raiding war with other maritime unions, knowing that it would lead to bloodshed on the docks and weaken all the unions involved.

Our long experience with jurisdictional disputes with the Teamsters has taught us how fruitless is inter-union rivalry. The ILWU-IBT warehouse alliance lays the basis for militant mutual defense and could serve as an example of potential labor solidarity in the call for a city-wide general strike now.

With the warehouse contract coming up June 1, and a major Pay Guarantee Plan crisis facing longshoremen July 1, the time is ripe for the ILWU to call for a general strike. Such a call would find an immediate response from militant Muni drivers who once again--to a man--have honored the craft workers' picket lines and whose own contract expires July 1.

An ILWU-initiated general strike could not only assure an end to all cuts in city services and victory for the city workers; it could win 100% COLA, high wages, and a shorter work week at no loss in pay for the entire area labor movement. It would turn the tide against the bosses' offensive and keep San Francisco a strong union town.

Howard Keylor
Stan Gow
Bob Mandel
John Dow

for the Militant Caucus

Motion

We call for an immediate general strike to:

1)bring victory to the city craft workers;

2)smash Prop. B and all anti-labor propositions;

3)win the unrestricted right to strike for all city workers;

4)reopen all city contracts;

Labor must use the general strike to fight for a shorter work week at no loss in pay to make jobs for all, 100% COLA, and big wage hikes for all to catch up with inflation; and canceling the city debt and expropriating the banks without compensation.

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Local 6 Strike

Don't Handle Nestle's Scab Goods!

Over a week ago, a container of Nestle products was loaded on a Matson liner at 7th St. It was scab cargo. 114 ILWU #6 members have been on strike against Nestle's Salinas plant since March 12. They are locked in battle with an international conglomerate with outlets in 38 countries.

The strikers need all the muscle which the combined action of all ILWU divisions can provide. Over the last year, Nestle was able to break two strikes at its major eastern US plants because they were waged separately and in isolation. The company is demanding a three year contract with no cost of living and will"grant" wage hikes of 10%, 8%, and 7% to workers whose starting wage is a lousy $4.11 per hour!

The full mobilization of the ILWU International can freeze the Salinas plant solid, cripple Northern California distribution of Nestle products, and force the company to take substantial losses. Local 6 members at Woolworth and Safeway have already stopped all Nestle scab cargo. In an act of real labor solidarity reported in the April 16 Dispatcher, Teamsters and Machinists honored Local 6 lines for nearly two weeks at Nestle's Ripon plant even though there were no ILWU members employed at this plant.

The government, always ready to defend the Bosses' interests, has moved to cripple the strike. The Teamsters and Machinists have been enjoined from honoring the lines and Local 6 pickets have been limited to tokens. But the response of Local 6 members at Woolworth and Safeway make clear their determination to prevent this strike from being broken!

We must lend a hand at once! Not a box of any Nestle product should move anywhere. All clerks and longshoremen should immediately begin a Nestle hunt, using the list provided in the April 16 Dispatcher, to stop the cargo cold. At our Local meetings, we should put the whole weight of the union behind this action. We should also inform our Teamster brothers and ask them to join us in the stoppage. With the OK of Bridges and Co., the IBT leadership has agreed to obey the injunction at Ripon while keeping the Teamster membership as a whole in the dark about Nestle's.

We cannot rely on the International to co-ordinate the Nestle strike defense despite the prominent coverage given the strike in the Dispatcher. As we know, at Boron, Bridges deliberately broke the strike, ordering Local 13 longshoremen to load scab borax despite ILWU #30 picket lines. So far the McClain leadership of Local 6, which is directly under the thumb of the International, has only asked Local 34 to "bird-dog" Nestle products, keeping them informed of its whereabouts. Then the Local 6 leadership went crawling to Matson to ask them not to ship Nestle products. The very day they were getting a "commitment " from Matson, the container was being loaded for Honolulu!

We cannot allow another Boron here! We must wage a solid action together with the membership of Local 6 against Nestle. They need our help. The Master Contract, covering 25,000 ILWUand IBT warehousemen expires June 1. The employers have "offered" no wage increase and proclaimed voluntary overtime and promotion by seniority strike issues!

We need their help. Come July 1, PGP will be slashed by $1.3 million. PMA has announced that it will resume deregistering men under 8.35 for allegedly holding two jobs. Unity now can lay the basis for militant joint strike action soon. Victory to the Nestle's strike!

Fredric S. Addison Local 10 #6771
Bob Carson Local 34 #2041
Stan Gow Local 10 #4498
John Hurst Local10 #8069
Howard Keylor Local 10 #20447

May 7, 1976 Labor Donated

LONGSHORE BLOC
LEAFLET ON
SOLIDARITY IN
NESTLE WORKERS
STRIKE

B/OSL FILE

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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Phone (415)841-1982 P.O. Box 33, El Cerrito, Ca. 94530 labor donated

Will you still have a job after July 1?

Re-Elect Gow and Keylor to the Executive Board

As July 1 approaches, a hard choice faces the Local 10 membership: either we will unite to strike for jobs for all or PMA will drive us off the docks. For the first time since 1946, mass layoffs are staring us in the face.

The handwriting is on the wall. July 1 the PGP Fund is automatically cut $ 1.3 million and the "moratorium" on deregistrations under 8.35 (2 jobs) expires. PMA is also moving to kick out "A" and "B" men for "poor availability"--no work in a 30-day period.

PMA's attempts to force "dock in hold" are aimed at eliminating still more jobs. Clerks are being replaced with non-union office and supervisory personnel. Hazardous handling conditions have led to asbestos, chemical and carbon monoxide poisoning. Speedup and the use of unsafe equipment have caused one brother's death this year already. PMA's determination to continue union busting has led to threats against any B.A. who fights at all.

Divide and Conquer

The PMA, with the help of Bridges & Co., are trying to split the union with claims they are "only" after "moonlighters" and "chiselers". But these categories will include hundreds of brothers with families who are forced to look for second jobs as work declines and PMA cuts PGP by 45% or more. This winter when Bridges and PMA first started looking for "chiselers", boards and gangs were slashed, the disabled were threatened with starvation, and we were hit with the "200 Hour Availability Test."

More Jobs Means A Fighting Leadership

With these attacks coming up, this election is critical. The kind of leadership the membership chooses will determine whether the union will be mobilized to fight. The half-hearted "anti-Bridges" politicians are trying to cash in on the membership's fears without laying out a strategy or program to win jobs now. In effect they are saying "Vote for us and when Bridges and Chester retire in 1977 maybe we'll be able to do something." By then it will be too late! They are so afraid of losing votes that they won't tell the membership the bitter truth: we have to prepare to cancel the contract and go out jointly with the warehouse locals for a shorter work shift with no extensions at no loss in pay to spread the work.

Strike Together With The Warehousemen

The warehouse Master Contract, covering 25,000 ILWU and Teamster members, expires June 1. In the last month, a series of Local 6 strikes have been hit with scabs, injunctions and police attacks. The latest employer offer is a deliberately insulting 24¢-12¢-12¢.

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The warehousemen are voting "strike sanction" this week. When we voted overwhelmingly to strike against the "200 Hours Test" the threat of serious strike action brought a speedy if limited victory. Joint longshore and warehouse action, backed up by Teamster drivers can be even more powerful. We have the power to shut down all West Coast transport to win what we all need.

Bridges: The Employers' Friend

Bridges and his cronies will certainly not prepare us to strike. Reading the Dispatcher, you wouldn't know anything about the string of defeats in warehouse or the PMA attacks on longshoremen. In fact, Bridges and Goldblatt have moved to cripple the union at every turn. Reportedly there is now another move afoot by the International to castrate the Local by putting it into total receivership on financial grounds. Any such move must be fiercely resisted. The Local must be put on a solid footing financially. In addition, the membership mandate to lease the hall must be carried out at once.

No Deals July 1

There's a real danger that Bridges has cooked up a deal with he PMA for July 1. In return for a few more dollars in the PGP Fund, we may be asked to agree to deregistrations, further elimination of dispatch boards, tigtened availability rules, and putting the "200 Hour Availability Test" back into effect.

This kind of horsetrading, playing one group of workers off against another, can only lead to disaster. Such policies paved the way for the defeat of the SF city workers. Bridges shares with Crowley and the San Francisco craft union leaders the blame for failing to mobilize the strength of the entire labor movement to beat back the Supervisors' union-busting attack. Bridges' inaction encourages employer attacks against all Bay Area labor including all divisions of the ILWU. By shutting down the port Bridges could have forced the AFL-CIO leaders to carry out their resolution to organize a general strike.

We're Proud Of Our Record

It's that kind of effective labor action that Stan Gow and Howard Keylor have fought for. On the Executive Board and before the ranks we've been the only ones to make a consistent and uncompromising fight for jobs for all longshoremen and for militant unity with the rest of labor and the oppressed. We have spoken the truth, however bitter it may be. Where criticism was necessary, we made it but we never refused to work together on principled issues with those with whom we disagree. We are dedicated to the fight for a society run by the workers and believe that to represent the membership the fighting motto of our union must be "an injury to one is an injury to all." We urge you to re-elect us to the Executive Board. NO DEREGISTRATIONS! NOT ONE MAN OFF THE DOCKS!

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ACT NOW TO DEFEND LOCAL 6

The warehouse strike is facing the most concerted employer/cop violence since the bloody oil workers strike in Richmond in 1946. A conscious attempt is being made to break the strike. Courts are beginning to issue injunctions against picketing in order to cripple the strike house by house. The TV, radio and newspapers ignore the scenes of massed Hayward, San Leandro, Berkeley, San Mateo, etc. police in full riot gear charging picket lines, beating and clubbing unarmed pickets, escorting car caravans of scabs, truck and railcar loads of scab-worked products into and out of struck warehouses and plants. Teamster and ILWU union officials are being arrested. Picket captains, Executive Board members, and the most active rank-and-filers are spotted ahead of time by police intelligence units using long-range movie cameras. These brothers and sisters can then be singled out by attacking cops, beaten and charged with felony assault charges (one to ten years). The fact that the picket lines continue to be disorganized and undermanned only aids the employers and the cops.

Defeat of the ILWU and IBT warehouse divisions will open the door to bloody anti-union attacks throughout Northern California. Already PMA has shown an increased appetite to provoke a confrontation with us as the July 1 showdown over PGP cuts and deregistrations draws near. PMA deliberately overruled their own local flunkies in order to take some of our work away and cancel the PGP for the week of May 29-June 4 over the beef on the Ro/Ro ship Maine at Pier 80.

Support of the warehousemen is absolutely essential. The Executive Board took a big step in that direction last week when it voted unanimously to back the warehouse strike. Each Executive Board member expressed the opinion that we should refuse to be put in the position of handling or loading scab or struck cargo and that longshoremen should lend a hand on the lines. All stewards present at the Tuesday Stewards Council meeting agreed with these opinions and requested that Local 6 and the Teamster locals inform us immediately which cargos are struck.

At Thursday night's membership meeting, the union must act to give these ideas real muscle and bone. No struck or scab cargo should cross the docks here. The Port of Sacramento has already been shut down as a result of the strike. We must refuse to handle any cargo diverted down here. We must call on all longshore locals up and down the coast to take similar action. Likewise we must call on Teamster drivers to freeze struck cargo. Solidarity committees must be elected to work with warehousemen, clerks, and drivers to spot struck cargo the way we stopped Nestle's recently. Trucking lines like DiSalvo which are prominent in strikebreaking should have their terminals shut down and injunctions to cripple labor solidarity must be smashed by joint action of the ILWU and IBT. To defend the picket lines against police attack, men not working should be mobilized after every dispatch morning and evening for mass picketing. Every effort must be made to win the strike and to defend arrested ILWU and Teamster union officials and pickets.

At a time when the utmost unity and solidarity against the bloody employer offensive is needed, a step is being taken to divide us and seriously undermine the union's defenses. Billy Proctor, and People's World supporter Joe Lindsay of Local 6, have taken the outrageous step of pressing charges against Executive Board member Stan Gow! Proctor and Lindsay claim Gow was acting in an "inciteful and provocative" manner when he, along with many other disgusted pickets, voiced objections to Lindsay, chief steward at Golden Grain, for allowing scabbing clerks and supervisors through the Local 6 picket lines. This came after at least one hundred ILWU members including brothers from Local 10, had successfully kept them out for two hours. You don't win strikes by allowing anyone to work behind your lines! To his credit, Gow has been on Local 6 picket lines almost daily. He put up the Executive Board motion to give full backing to the Local 6 strike. Apparently the cops find it easier to recognize a good union man than Proctor and Lindsay do--Gow was beaten and arrested along with ten other pickets at Automatic Plastic Molding Tuesday. Local 6 President Curtis McClain and other officials were arrested last week attempting to stop scab cargo. Billy and his People's World buddies should figure out which side of the line they're on and stop trying to undermine rank and file militancy and solidarity and join with the rest of the membership in organizing support for our embattled brothers and sisters. These shameful cover-up charges must be dropped immediately!

Some financially hard-pressed brothers have expressed concern that PMA will cancel our PGP if we support the warehousemen. We say let's stop always being on the defensive, turn the fight around against the employers to get what we all need. If PMA tries to force us to load struck cargo and scab on our brothers and sisters in warehouse, we should shut down the port and appeal to the rest of the coast to go out with us to reopen our contract and stop PMA and the Distributors in their tracks.

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NO MORE COMPROMISES!

STAND AND FIGHT FOR JOBS!

PMA's announcement that less than 15¢ on the dollar will be made up under PGP combined with the opening of deregistration proceedings against two brothers under 8.35 is a blunt declaration that the employers' drive to slash the workforce is moving into high gear. Hundreds of brothers with families who were forced to look for second jobs as work declined and the PGP was cut are targeted for deregistration. PMA has taken the gloves off: those who can't be starved off the docks will simply be fired. Coastwide the longshore workforce has already been cut from 26,000 to less than 11,000. In the Bay Area, the most highly mechanized port on the coast, PMA aims to cut our numbers from 2400 to 1000 or less.

The only answer to PMA's attack is to cancel the contract and strike for jobs for all longshoremen through a shorter work shift at no loss in pay. But for the last year, every time PMA has attacked, instead of standing and fighting, the union leadership has cut and run. While boards, gangs, job categories and jobs were cut and union control of hiring undermined by the PGP rules, the pro-Bridges and the "anti-Bridges" forces stood idly by. Even when the membership voted in February to strike to force PMA to rescind the Hours Test Formula, the leadership agreed just to have the formula "suspended" rather than mobilize the union to take the offensive against PMA.

The leadership's response to the latest PMA attacks is no different. At the last two executive board meetings, when Gow and Keylor attempted to place motions on the floor opposing any deregistrations, demanding full PGP make whole payments and calling for a strike for jobs, Pres. Williams and VP Theriault ruled them out of order. Instead, Williams has sent a letter to the International and to the other ports stating that PMA is enforcing 8.35 in a discriminatory fashion against Local 10 and asking their help. Who does Williams think he's kidding? Without requesting concrete strike action to defend this local, the request for help from the other ports is meaningless. As for the International, for the past 15 years, since the first M&M contract was signed, Port Commissioner Bridges and his pal Goldblatt have played a key role in pushing schemes to eliminate longshore jobs. The only help the International will provide will be to help PMA enforce deregistration under 8.35 coastwide!

To divert attention from their unwillingness to fight PMA for jobs, the Local 10 leadership is about to start a campaign against "chiselling". Spreading the illusion that it is "chisellers" rather than automation which is costing us jobs plays directly into PMA's strategy of setting us fighting each other over a decreasing number of jobs and over the phony PGP. In hopes of getting PMA to "promise" to discipline "chisellers", the leader-

ship is offering to change the LMO rules to bring them into conformance with PGP. These changes will not only constitute union approval of the past cuts in boards, gangs, etc. but will cost non-skilled members hundreds of lost job opportunities in the future. Even more important, for the first time the union would agree to police the PGF for PMA!

The anti-"chiselling" drive will open the door for a witch-hunt by PMA against Local 10 members, paving the way for mass de-registrations. Perhaps Williams and the majority of the Executive Board want us to forget that last winter Bridges and PMA launched a PGP anti-"chiselling" drive which led directly to the Hours Test Formula. This threatened at least a quarter of the membership, especially the disabled, with a total loss of income.

While the jobs of hundreds of union members are at stake, the politicians who run the local are trying to permanently feather their own nests. Their proposed constitutional amendment for a 2.8% dues assessment would mean that any time our wages went up, the leadership would automatically receive a dues increase. The membership would be denied the basic right of reviewing the leadership's policies and performance before voting more dues. The proposal would also mean that the brother making less would pay an <u>equal percent</u> on a smaller income than the brother with a higher income--the very opposite of a progressive tax. The amendment will also serve to justify the permanent existence of steadymen on the grounds that the union can't survive without their large dues payments. We are completely opposed to the proposed amendment. As jobs decline and the workforce shrinks, we'll be faced every year with a demand for a dues increase. The only way to put the local on a firm financial footing is to wage a militant fight for jobs.

The union is at a crossroads. We must stand and fight or see hundreds of our members driven off the docks permanently and the union transformed into a craft organization. The PGP stands exposed for the fraud it is. We must have jobs not token payments which can be cancelled at any time. The membership must act now to reopen the contract and call on the other ports to join us in a coastwide strike for jobs for all through a shorter work shift at no loss in pay.

<u>MOTION</u>: We reject the LMO rule changes, the failure to make the PGP whole, and any deregistrations under 8.35. These latest moves by PMA are all part of the employers' strategy to eliminate job categories and jobs, penalize us for the lack of work, and set us fighting among ourselves over a decreasing number of jobs. The union must discipline its own members including chiselers while neither allowing PMA nor depending on PMA to discipline them. Our attitude towards PMA's latest attacks is to stand and fight. We demand PMA make whole 100% of the year's PGP shortfall. We commit ourselves to a strike for jobs for all longshoremen through a shorter work shift at no loss in pay.

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MEMBERSHIP VOTES TO STRIKE AGAINST 8.35 DEREGISTRATIONS!

For the second time this year, the Local 10 membership at the July 15 meeting voted by a substantial majority to strike in self-defense against PMA's attacks. The motion was made and argued for by supporters of Longshore Militant. The vote to strike against PMA's plan for deregistrations under 8.35 serves notice that the membership will fight further attempts to penalize longshoremen for the lack of work. Section 8.35 of the contract forbids any outside jobs, full or part-time, wage or salaried. Already two members have been charged and are awaiting a final decision. Clearly the membership took the right position on this issue, just as they did when PMA with the help of "our" Coast Committee tried to foist the 200 hour rule on us whereby 25% to 30% of us would have been knocked off PGP. But the question is: will the vote to strike against deregistrations be carried out?

After the local voted to strike against the Hours Test Formula, the local leadership severely compromised on the union's position. Instead of requiring PMA to rescind the formula, they allowed them to "suspend" it. The leadership's unwillingness to actually carry through on the strike vote made PMA confident that we were bluffing and encouraged them to come back with the latest attacks.

This time there must be no compromise. The membership must be ready to prevent any deals which will divert the strike, lose jobs, and encourage further attacks.

PMA's Latest Attack

For its part PMA has no intention of stopping their cut-and-squeeze program long enough for anyone to catch his breath. At the latest LRC, after we voted to strike against 8.35, PMA's newest chopping proposal demanded the day gangs be cut to less than half, from 43 to 20, and the night gangs from 24 to 12. PMA is determined to drive hundreds of men off the docks. But what are we doing in response? So far it's all been decided at the top by "arbitration" which cuts the membership out of the picture.

PGP: When Is 100% Not 100%

And what about the PGP cut? Port Commissioner Harry Bridges told the membership in unmistakeable language that $ 400 "make whole" payments are what he's willing to settle for even though some brothers are owed up to $ 1300! Furthermore the money is coming from next year's PGP fund! Under this arrangement, 25% of Local 10's active membership, or 700 men, fall short of 100% back payment. Basically, the disabled, the dock preference and gang men get screwed. It's clear from the PGP cuts and PMA's latest demand to slash gangs in half, that it's these men who are the first slated for deregistration. Bridges' position was that, "these men are riding on your backs using up PGP." He then threatened to force these brothers out on diminished pensions.

No Cuts, No Layoffs--Jobs For All!

The time has come for an ILWU counter-offensive. PMA's demand for more cuts and deregistrations must be met by a union demand for jobs for all. We must certainly strike against any deregistrations. We must also understand that we will not be able to survive on the

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pre-8.35 status quo and reliance on the PGP con game for our livlihoods. Therefore, the fight must be extended into a battle for what we really need: a shorter work shift at no loss in pay, abolish steadymen--all jobs out of the hall, no extended shifts, union-controlled training programs for all men for all skills. In short, a program to spread the work and reinforce union control.

Let's face it: the vote to strike against 8.35 is a vote to defy the contract. Such action will likely be met with employer attack and the same kind of government strikebreaking attempts as were directed at the warehouse strike. The point is: do we want jobs or not? You don't get something for nothing.

What Is The Local Officials' Program?

The membership cannot leave implementation of the vote to strike against 8.35 to the Williams leadership. Both "pro-" and "anti-" Bridges forces have all taken the position that we've got to "live with" this lousy job-cutting, income-slashing contract for three years.

Williams along with the rest of the leadership remains opposed to strike action now and they will continue their anti-democratic maneuvers in order to prevent it. Away from the watchful eye of the membership, at the Executive Board Williams had previously ruled this very same motion to strike against 8.35 out of order! The high-handed manner in which he has been conducting meetings makes clear that he is determined to prevent the membership from setting policy. The new procedure under which "exceptions" to the officers' report are jammed in late on the agenda serves only to cripple the membership's right to review the officers' actions.

Willlams has been maneuvering so hard because the entire local leadership is committed to a program which is just the opposite of the local's uncompromising strike vote against any deregistrations. Instead of a fight against PMA, the leadership is literally planning to join with PMA in a witchhunt against members of the union! As we reported in the last Longshore Militant, the Executive Board voted to adopt Archie Brown's motion asking PMA to help enforce the Sept. '73 dispatch rules to get chisellers. We've seen time and again what it means to leave the membership to PMA's tender mercies. PMA must be kept out of union affairs and union control of dispatch. We repeat that spreading the illusion that it is chisellers rather than automation which is costing us jobs plays directly into PMA's strategy of setting us fighting each other over a decreasing number of jobs and the phony PGP.

Prepare To Strike!

The membership's vote to strike expresses a clear determination to stand and fight. Williams and Co. won't do it. To make sure the strike motion is implemented if deregistrations are not dropped immediately, the ranks must begin right now to organize and elect strike committees. These should be based on the gangs, the skilled, hold and dock boards and the Stewards Council. We must be prepared to fight for the election of a local-wide strike committee to link them all up. These committees should organize picketing and other defense measures. They should lay the basis for sending official delegations to other ports asking them not to handle any diverted cargo and to come out in solidarity with us in a coastwide fight for jobs. PMA has drawn the battle lines sharply. The membership must take matters into its own hands to see to it that the fight is fought and won by the union.

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CARRY OUT THE MEMBERSHIP VOTES! ORGANIZE TO STRIKE!

At the membership meeting Aug. 19, the Local 10 membership voted both to strike against all aspects of PMA's cut-and-slash program and for jobs for all. The motion and amendment made by supporters of the Longshore Militant and adopted by a substantial majority states:

> "Our jobs are not subject to arbitration. Consistent with our vote to strike against 8.35, we reject all deregistrations or further cuts in gangs and boards and we will take strike action to prevent them. We commit ourselves to a fight for jobs for all longshoremen through a strike for a shorter work shift at no loss in pay.

Archie Brown's original amendment that "we organize a delegation to the Coast Committee on these issues" also passed though Brown is now claiming that the motion requests the Coast Committee and International appear before the membership.

The membership action lays the basis for a sharp counterattack against PMA's drive to cut gangs in half, virtually eliminate the Dock Preference Board, and deregister large numbers of longshoremen under 8.34 and 8.35, beginning with the disabled. The vote to strike for a shorter work shift is especially significant. This represents the first time since the sell-out of the 1971 strike that Local 10 has voted not only to strike in self-defense but for what we must have to survive: jobs. The membership is so fed up with the constant employer attacks and the insecurity of trying to get by on the phony PGP that it is ready to fight fo change the situation.

Arbitration Wednesday

The first test of our determination will come Wednesday when arbitrations on both the Day and Night Dock Preference Board and the gangs are scheduled to occur at PMA's headquarters. PMA is determined to slash the gangs not only to eliminate nearly 300 jobs but to undermine the entire gang system. This is one of the few remaining structures through which longshoremen can organize and act to win safe working conditions. Gang job actions like the recent successful one against asbestos poisoning challenge PMA's drive for profit at the expense of longshoremen's lives.

A mass demonstration must be organized at the PMA building Wednesday to make clear that the local will strike against even a solitary cut. But, as we predicted, the officers have made no strike preparations at all. At the Executive Board Thursday night, President Williams abruptly adjourned the meeting to prevent debate on implementation of the Local's decisions, specifically our motion for a mass demonstration Wednesday at the PMA.

The local leadership has no intention of carrying out the strike votes. For the last ten months, since last October 9 when the Executive Board voted to strike for jobs, the "pro-" and "anti-" Bridges cliques which run the local have joined forces

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to prevent the membership from even considering the Executive Board action! Williams, Kaye, Brown and Co. permitted the membership to vote on the question this time simply as a maneuver to bring pressure on the Coast Committee. They want Bridges and the International to catch the heat for PMA's attacks to cover up their own responsibility for the series of defeats we've suffered.

Their "militant" posture now is as phony as their temporary refusal to pay pro rata to the Coast Committee last winter during the fight over the Hours Test Formula. Then, instead of organizing a strike fo force PMA to rescind the formula as the local had voted, they compromised. Their agreement only to "suspend" the HTF convinced PMA that our strike motion was a bluff and encouraged them to come back with the latest attacks.

Elect Strike Committees

To ensure that the strike mandate is carried out, the membership must begin at once to organize and elect strike committees in gangs, among the skilled, hold and dock boards, and through the stewards council and be prepared to elect a local-wide strike committee to link them up. Williams', Kaye's, and Brown's strategy of "pressuring" the Coast Committee is a deliberate diversion intended to avoid the real question of organizing to strike. The traitors in the International can't be pressured--they must be forced to resign. Even Bro. Dulaney brought out at the membership meeting that the Coast Committee gave the employers the contractual right to demand further cuts when Bridges and Co. agreed that the arbitrator could "review cuts" already made. Only elected strike committees can ensure that these cuts are stopped and our jobs saved. One of the committee's first tasks would be to organize delegations to all the locals up and down the coast to call on them to join us in our action.

DEFEND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL STRIKE! IMPLEMENT THE BOYCOTT NOW!

For the past three days, the black South African working class has been engaged in a widely effective national general strike against the apartheid system. Were it not for the treachery of Bro. Leo Robinson, who moved to put off any boycott action indefinitely, Local 10 could be engaged in effective solidarity action to defend our brothers against the guns of the racist South African government and government-inspired strikebreakers. To curry favor with the local and International leadership in order to promote his career, in a shameful, disgustigg display Robinson threw his support to the dues increase and stabbed our South African brothers in the back. Sabotage of this concrete action of international labor solidarity facilitates the maneuvers of the U.S. ruling class to prop up racist South African imperialism. Implement the boycott now!

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STRIKE NOW! STOP THE CUTS! WIN JOBS

Due to the treachery of the Local 10 leadership, the arbitrator (with the blessings of the International) has eliminated the Night Dock Preference Board and is setting gang men up for compulsory weekend availability. Defying the membership's vote at the Aug. 19 meeting that "our jobs are not subject to arbitration" and that we would strike to prevent any further cuts and to win jobs, Williams and Co. did everything possible to sabotage a fight and conciliate the PMA.

The officers and Archie Brown failed to inform the membership in the August 26 Bulletin that the arbitrations were scheduled for Wednesday, Sept. 2. They refused to mobilize the membership at PMA headquarters to demonstrate the Local's determination to fight any moves to cut jobs. Then, during the arbitration proceedings themselves, the officers offered to cooperate with the PMA in calling gang men and dock preference board men before the joint ILWU-PMA Labor Relations Committee. The officers' proposal amounts to a joint witch-hunt to force these longshoremen to explain why they are drawing more PGP money that some other men. Such hearings ultimately will provide the pretext for deregistrations!

Barsamian's ruling eliminating the Night Dock Preference Board also orders the night disabled onto days. But the total number of jobs available to disabled men on the day board is still limited to the same maximum number. For the first time in our history, the union has lost the right to provide jobs for disabled men so that they can make the qualified years necessary to be eligible for a pension. Now, outside doctors and the arbitrator will decide who can work and who will be forced out onto the street. Many disabled longshoremen will be dumped before they get enough qualified years even for a partial pension. This is what PMA and Bridges mean when they advocate 'forced early retirement'!

The Financial Crisis Is A Diversion--Fight For Jobs!

The first item on the agenda Thursday night must be preparations for a strike to roll back these cuts and fight for jobs as the membership voted in August. But the officers will do everything possible to avoid any strike preparations and will try to shove this way down on the agenda. Instead they will try to drag us into an endless wrangle over finances.

Repeated regular and special meetings of the Executive Board since the August meeting have been devoted exclusively to fights over money, ignoring the fight for jobs. According to official reports the local is in a financial crisis. It was put there deliberately by Bridges' stooges who were in office last year, ran the local into tremendous debt--largely to the Coast Committee and International--and covered up their treachery by refusing to issue financial reports. Bridges has such contempt for the membership that, after giving our jobs away by his job-slashing contracts, and through repeated expensive arbitrations, he now informs us in a letter that the Local won't get any more services from the Coast Committee and must pay for its own arbitrations! To help push through the dues increase, Bridges'

flunkies are once again raising the bugaboo of receivership. Any such move must be openly defied by the membership.

But the main reason we're running a deficit is the steady decline in jobs resulting from Bridges' surrender of manning scales and the refusal of both the "pro" and"anti" Bridges forces to fight for a shorter work shift to preserve jobs being eliminated by containerization. Tonnage in the Bay Area has hit an all-time high; jobs are at an all-time low. The only lasting solution to the financial crisis is to establish a secure dues base through a fight for jobs.

None of the financial plans of either Bridges' flunkies or the "opposition" will solve the problem. Both camps are capitulating to PMA's drive towards deregistrations which will further reduce our dues base. Both camps supported the officers' proposal to force gang and dock preference board men to appear before the LRC. At the same time both camps are arrogantly trying to feather their own nests through supporting a dues increase. The "sharp" cuts proposed by Wing and Theriault would leave officers and dispatchers alike receiving far more than the $ 270 per week the hall men are receiving when the PGP pays off. No officer should receive a nickel more than the plug or gang man.

Neither side is proposing to carry out the membership mandate to lease the hall which would save the Local at least $ 6600 a month. Instead Moseley, Smith, Dulaney and others want to break our contract with Local 29 (the office workers) by putting them on part time pay. Kaye "objects" but is willing to go along. Such a move would provoke a strike, making union busters out of us and isolating the ILWU dangerously from the rest of organized labor. While Moseley won't lift a finger to fight PMA, he's willing to scab on the office workers and beat up any longshoremen who show solidarity with them. That's what he threatened publicly at the last Executive Board. Vote no on the dues increase! Lease the hall! Honor the office workers' contract!

Elect Strike Committees! Set A Strike Deadline!

Brothers, the membership must act now. If we do not enforce the strike motions adopted at the July and August membership meetings, PMA will conclude we are bluffing and intensify its attacks. Our officers have proven time and again over the last year that they are obstacles to the union taking action. At Thursday night's meeting the membership must vote to put the question of the cuts and strike preparations first on the agenda. To lay the basis for enforcing local decisions strike committees must be elected in all gangs, and among the skilled, hold and dock boards, seeking to link them up through an elected local-wide strike committee. We must set an immediate strike deadline. Strike action by Local 10 must be backed by an intensive drive up and down the coast to bring the other ports out with us in a fight for jobs for all longshoremen, young and old, skilled and non-skilled, healthy and disabled, through a shorter work shift at no loss in pay.

THE LONGSHORE MILITANT IS THE ONLY SOURCE OF CONSISTENTLY TRUTHFUL INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO LOCAL . . TO COVER THE COST OF PAPER AND INK DONATIONS ARE ALWAYS NEEDED. A DIME, A QUARTER OR A FEW BUCKS WOULD SURE HELP. PLEASE CONTRIBUTE.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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For A Workers Party Based On The Trade Unions! Break With The Democrats And Republicans!

On Sept. 18 in Fresno, out of sight of the union membership, the ILWU leadership endorsed the open-shop racist millionaire Jimmy Carter for President. The Joint District Council meeting also endorsed a nearly full slate of pro-capitalist Democratic politicians for the federal and state elections. This blanket support to the enemies of labor will mean four more years during which big business will go virtually unchallenged in its drive to force the working class to pay for the world depression through massive unemployment and inflation. The endorsements are part of the strategy of cooperating and compromising with the capitalists which Bridges along with the rest of the U.S. labor bureaucracy has pursued for decades. This program of class collaboration has led to defeat after defeat for labor. To defend our jobs, conditions and living standard, the ILWU membership must repudiate these endorsements completely. To struggle politically for their interests as a class, workers need their own party based on the trade unions, dedicated to the fight for a workers government. We must break completely with the Republicans and Democrats, ousting the traitors like Bridges, Meany and Woodcock who are their loyal servants.

The ILWU leadership's support to the Democratic Party, justified over the years by the need to "stop the Republicans and the right wing", has been a recipe for disaster. In 1972, the Democratic-controlled Congress passed strikebreaking legislation against the longshore strike, and, joining hands with Nixon, robbed longshoremen, warehousemen and the rest of the U.S. working class of badly needed pay hikes by imposing the wage freeze. While Bridges, Chester and Mosely danced to Alioto's tune, he and the other shipping bosses attacked our jobs, manning scales and jurisdiction, backed by the threat of heavy fines from the capitalist courts. This year Bridges looked the other way while his candidate Moscone and the Democratic Board of Supervisors slashed the city workers' pay and broke their strike. The leadership's refusal to mobilize the power of the ILWU in support of that strike isolated the ILWU from its historic allies in the workers movement, encouraged the PMA to greater attacks on longshoremen, paved the way for the massive scabbing and police attacks on the warehouse strike, and opened the door to the murder of ILWU member Norman Ray Lewis at Handyman in Tracy.

On an international scale, the labor bureaucrats' deliberate subordination of the workers movement to the capitalist parties allowed the Democrats and Republicans to jointly launch the imperialist war in Vietnam, and the bloody CIA operations in Angola and Chile. Labor strikes in international solidarity against these imperialist ventures would have forced a speedy end to these operations.

Austerity: The Republican/Democratic Program

This year, determined to prop up profits by increasing the exploitation of labor, even the pretense that there's a lesser-evil difference between the "liberal" Democrats and the "conservative" Republicans has largely been dropped. Carter and Ford both agree--the workers must pay

(over)

through lower wages and higher productivity--like fewer longshoremen increasing the flow of containers and LASH barges. In New York, in a trial run for things to come nationally, the Republicans and Democrats have joined hands to impose a brutal austerity program. They have slashed wages, laid off tens of thousands of public service workers, and slammed shut the doors of hospitals, day care centers and schools.

Forcing these programs on the working class isn't easy. Here in the ILWU, to avoid any debate, the leadership has denied the membership in every division of the union the right to review the District Council endorsements. This attack on the membership's right to set policy is intended to prevent the membership from upsetting the bureaucrats' cozy relationship with the companies and capitalist politicians. Over the past couple of years, in warehouse as well as longshore, they have cancelled meetings, threatened receivership, and used gangster-style attacks to coerce the membership into accepting their job-slashing program.

Labor Bureaucrats: Agents of the Bosses in the Workers Movement

In these tactics, the ILWU leadership is by no means unique. The entire U.S. labor bureaucracy is determined to avoid fighting the companies. Committed themselves to the labor-exploiting profit system, they seek to tie the working class to the capitalist class, its state, and its political parties. For betraying the working class they get their "30 pieces of silver" too--like Alioto's appointment of Bridges to the Port Commission and Chester to the Airport Commission. UAW President Leonard Woodcock is an open favorite for the post of Secretary of Labor in Carter's cabinet. Even when they are kicked in the teeth they come back for more. After the S.F. Board of Supervisors impeached Plumbers Union President Mazzola from the Airport Commission as an anti-labor scapegoat, the S.F. Central Labor Council and the State AFL-CIO voted their "thanks" to Supervisor Barbagelata for his vote against Mazzola's ouster. This the notorious rightwing zealot who drafted the anti-labor propositions that prompted the strike in the first place!

Carter: Candidate of Racist Reaction

The Carter candidacy is somewhat of an embarrassment to the "progressive" image of the ILWU leadership which is why so far they have deliberately suppressed any mention of their endorsement of Carter in the Dispatcher. Carter pays his workers $ 2.54 an hour, supports the Taft-Hartley act, views Lt. Calley's conviction for mass murder as a "blow to troop morale", supports the death penalty, opposes abortion and favors "a shifting back toward the removal of technicalities which obviously prevent the convictions and punishment of those who are guilty"--which in plain language means giving the cops and courts a free hand against the labor movement and racial minorities. He is a notorious racist. His Lt. Governor in Georgia was Lester (Axe-Handle) Maddox. Carter openly admires segregationist George Wallace. Presently, "ethnic purity" Carter is in fierce competition with Ford to fan the flames of race hatred, urging on the anti-busing lynch mobs, in order to divide black and white workers.

Chester, Mosely and McClain of Local 6, all aspiring to higher union office if Bridges and Goldblatt step down on schedule, have shamelessly endorsed Carter. This is even worse than the all-out drive by the ILWU leadership to support Alioto for Governor in 1974,

(Continued page 3)

despite his having launched the racist, apartheid-like Operation Zebra.

Yet tied as they are to the Democratic Party as the political expression of their role as "labor brokers" the whole ILWU leadership is openly stumping for the rest of the Democratic ticket which selected the racist Carter as its nominee.

No Vote For The Communist Party

And in their open support for the overall Democratic slate they are joined, unsurprisingly, by Archie Brown and his co-thinkers of the Communist Party. Despite all the hoopla about the CP's "independent" campaign for Hall and Tyner, the Communist Party is actually running its normal vote-for-the-lesser-evil liberal Democrat operation. At the Joint District Council, after voting for Hall/Tyner against Carter/Mondale, not one of the CP sympathizers opposed the unanimous support given to Senator Tunney and the other Democratic candidates for Congress and the state legislature! Indeed, the Oct. 9 People's World reports that the CP leadership pays "a great deal of attention" to the need to defeat "ultra-conservative" SI Hayakawa...by supporting Tunney! Prior to this they supported Tom Hayden against Tunney.

There is no basis for voting for the Communist Party because its "independent candidacy" is a fraud. For 40 years the CP has assisted various wings of the pro-capitalist trade union bureaucracy in tying the working class to this corrupt system and giving backhanded support to capitalist politicians. In longshore, time and again over the past two years when the chips were down, CP supporters refused to call for a strike for jobs. Recently, in order not to embarrass their Democratic friends who are giving "non-partisan" support to Kissinger's maneuvers to maintain white-supremacist imperialist interests in South Africa, they refused to support implementing the Local 10 motion to boycott South African cargo. Their cowardly action came just before South African police began shooting down black workers who went out in a general strike to smash apartheid. As a result of their treachery, on Oct. 16 the weekend BA was able to coerce reluctant longshoremen to cross a picket line put up by the Spartacist League against the Ned Lloyd at Pier 27 receiving South Africa-bound cargo by claiming there is no local sanction for the boycott and by threatening the port with the loss of PGP.

The Democratic and Republican parties are both the mortal enemies of the workers movement. Workers need their own party, based on the trade unions, to fight politically in the workers' class interests. The program of this independent workers party must be for a workers government which would end the cycle of war, racial and sexual oppression, exploitation and unemployment by abolishing the profit system. It would establish instead a democratically controlled planned economy under which all basic industry would be nationalized. But Bridges, Meany, Woodcock, Miller and Co. are tied to the Democratic Party by a thousand threads and will viciously oppose every move to break the unions from the capitalist parties. For the ILWU and all of labor to advance, the bureaucracy's stranglehold must be broken and its program of class collaboration rejected. We of the Longshore Militant have fought to do just that. As the union election approaches, we stress again that only those with a clear perspective of anti-capitalist struggle can lead the ILWU and the working class as a whole forward in the fight for jobs and a decent standard of living, and a society of their own.

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Union Elections:

More Jobs, Not Fewer Workers!

This round of local and International elections is one of the most critical our union has ever faced. Since 1960, the PMA and the International have been chipping away at the union's strength and they are now setting the stage for mass layoffs. All sections of the local leadership have proven unwilling and incapable of fighting these attacks. Instead, they try to pacify the employers and Bridges by policing the union's ranks. Unless the membership elects a leadership willing to fight PMA to provide jobs for all longshoremen and defend our conditions, we will see the end of the waterfront workforce and of the ILWU as we know them. We urge you to vote for Stan Gow and Howard Keylor for Executive Board and International Convention and Caucus Delegate as a first step toward building such a militant leadership.

Steady Fire From PMA

The employer attack is many-sided and unending. PMA continues to chisel openly on manning and job assignments. Among the most blatant is their ordering of skilled men, both 9.43 and hall, to perform non-skilled work. Stan Gow was recently fired for refusing to get off his tractor and lock and unlock container chassis. Gow took his action after the Steward's Council voted overwhelmingly to protect job categories. PMA is pushing the case, demanding he be punished for refusing to "work as directed." This is just one of hundreds of examples of men being ordered to work short-handed and out of category.

Health and safety conditions get worse. Nothing has been done by the local leadership to enforce the membership vote to force the PMA to test all men for the always fatal cancers that come from exposure to asbestos. Carbon monoxide poisoning is widespread. While PMA openly flaunts federal standards on testing, the union leadership refuses to use even the right to stand by on health and safety to stop this potentially lethal hazard.

PMA pushes ahead under the "PGP abuse" section of the contract to weaken union control of the job and to drive men into competing with each other for fewer and fewer jobs. Disabled men have to go on a waiting list to get on the day preferred dock board. Little work is assigned by PMA to this board forcing these men to live off PGP. If a man on the board is injured and can't work, he doesn't dare go on Workman's Compensation or he loses his place on the preferred dock board. If he stays on the board, he builds up no eligibility for unemployment insurance, vacation pay, holiday pay, or even workman's compensation. The disabled are clearly being set up for layoffs!

Unless the union fights, gang men will either have their gangs cut or they will be forced into the hall to compete with plug men, putting us all (except steady men) deeper into PGP. Even steady men (an expanding category which we are opposed to) are being forced to speed-up, competing with each other for tonnage, forced to do non-skilled work when no steward is around to stop it.

While PGP has paid off the last few months, the PGP funds are dangerously low. This year's fund is $ 1.3 million less than last year's and was further reduced when hundreds of thousands of dollars were "borrowed" from it for the phony "make whole" payments. As the winter slow season fast approaches, we face drastic cuts in PGP payments.

Most important of all, as the Nov. 18 Local Bulletin hints, the entire coast faces another massive loss of jobs due to new modern container ships requiring fewer lashers and drivers and the conversion of foreign shipping lines to partial or complete container operations.

No Raiding Or Scabbing!

Faced with this deepening crisis, neither wing of the union leadership is willing to mobilize the union to fight PMA for jobs. Both camps have a program that says the only way to get jobs is to take them away from other workers! From Mosely to Theriault, the leadership has joined hands to prevent any debate on the situation at Pier 96. There, swing men are performing ship's carpenter work on the barges for PFEL at far less pay than the Ship's Carpenters Union which has done that work since at least 1951 and has clearly established jurisdiction. On orders from the local leadership, ILWU members have disregarded "informational" picket lines established by the Ship's Carpenters Local 1149 to try to save their jobs. Local 10's attorney Patsey proudly reported to the Steward's Council that the courts almost always award jurisdiction to the union the employer prefers. What he didn't say was that the courts as an arm of the capitalist government are always ready to help employers weaken the union by getting workers to undercut each other on wages, fringes and job conditions.

Instead of joining with all waterfront and maritime unions to fight for a shorter work shift at no loss in pay to spread the work, Bridges and Chester (with no resistance from the "opposition") seem to be moving to take the ILWU into a joint scabbing and raiding program with the corrupt leadership of the National Maritime Union (NMU) and the Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS) against the other maritime unions. Chester was the main speaker at the recent NMU convention where the NMU leadership changed the union constitution to allow "affiliation with any labor organization now in existence." Any proposal to merge the ILWU with the NMU on the basis of a raiding partnership must be opposed both at the local level and at the International Convention.

Chester's raiding program would set us up for a bloody, cannibalistic war on the docks which could only benefit the employer. Raiding would isolate us from the rest of the labor movement and open the door for other more powerful unions to carry out the same program against us. One lesson of the defeated city workers strike is that workers who scab on other workers can expect to be repaid in kind. Stop all raiding and scabbing now! Honor the Ship's Carpenters' jurisdiction!

Bridges' and PMA's Latest Move: More Divide and Conquer

In their eagerness to serve the companies' interests, the International regime has come up with another scheme as mortally dangerous to the ILWU as raiding. Chester, Bridges' favorite to succeed him if Harry can't get the Constitution revised so he can hang on, recently took a trip up and down the coast to push this new piece of treachery. They want to eliminate the PGP and extend the contract several more years in exchange for a 60¢ per hour wage hike and some kind of early retirement program.

While the PGP is a fraud that was used to sweeten the job-cutting M & M contract, the minimal protection it does provide must not be given up in the absence of jobs for all longshoremen at full pay. 60¢ an hour is meaningless to a man without a job! The Chester proposal is intended simply and solely to drive a wedge between those men who are working and those who aee dependent on PGP, particularly to divide San Francisco from the other ports. It is a plan to starve longshoremen off the docks.

The bait of early retirement is poisoned. It will permit PMA to permanently eliminate a large number of jobs in exhcange for a cheap money package--M & M, Phase II! In the long run, this will reduce the ILWU to a small ineffective craft union. There's a distinct possibility that as in Australia, men will be forced to retire on reduced pensions as Bridges reported in the Nov. 19 Dispatcher. Furthermore, our pension and retirement program isn't all that secure. It's virtually impossible to get any definite information but it appears that the U.S. maritime industry has obtained repeated, open-ended exemptions from the new federal law requiring pension programs to be fully funded within a given period. Right now PMA pays into the pension fund just enough money to pay current expenses. Very soon we'll have more men retired than working. When that happened to the United Mine Workers after WW II, after the coal operators embarked on a massive mechanization program, their welfare and pension plans went broke fast!

PMA and the International appear to be making their move against PGP now in order to avoid a coastwide confrontation later when the full effects of containerization reduce every major port to depending on PGP. If that happened, the companies and the International bureaucracy could be challenged by a mass revolt demanding full PGP payments and a shorter work shift at no loss in pay. If PMA through its agents in the International and Local leaderships can hoodwink the other major ports into dumping the PGP, then PMA will simply be able to lay off thousands of men coastwide when there's no work for them. Bridges' article clearly approves of the forced permanent layoff of at least 1200 Australian longshoremen.

And for those of you who haven't read the 49-page ruling in the Williams case (the 82 B men deregistered in 1963 after four and a half years on the waterfront) Judge Harris in effect sanctified the right of the PMA and the International to lay off or deregister men based upon the "needs of the industry."

The International Convention

All these issues will come to a head at the Convention and Caucus in April. Bridges will probably be forced to retire. But those who are fighting to succeed him and Goldblatt--Rubio, Chester, Martin, Herman, McClain, etc.--have all collaborated in selling our jobs and sabotaged any move for an ILWU-wide strike for a shorter work shift at no loss in pay.

What we desperately need is a leadership which will organize such a strike to spread the work, keep us all on the payroll, and force the employers to pay a big wage increase for our work. An indication that our brothers and sisters in the East Bay Division of Local 6 are looking for new leadership is the election of Brother Bob Mandel, chairman of the Militant Caucus in warehouse, as a Convention Delegate and his re-election with the second highest vote to the local's General Executive Board. Local 6 members, experiencing nearly 15% unemployment, have suffered massive scab and police attacks in recent months culminating in the murder of a striker at Handyman last August. Neither the Local 6 leadership nor the International have taken any serious action to defend the ILWU ggainst murderous employer-inspired attacks and have done nothing to defend the dozens of members still facing jail time for strike-related arrests. The election of Gow and Keylor as International Convention Delegates together with Mandel will provide a firm nucleus for a militant alternative at the Convention, providing a real opportunity to reach members up and down the coast with our program.

Kaye, Robinson & Co.: The Loyal Opposition

The painful tragic truth is that the entire leadership of the union, including the major political figures, won't fight and can only be depended on either to come up with gimmick non-solutions or back down completely under the International's pressure. We can expect that Leo Robinson, borrowing a page from his collaborator Archie Brown (who

retires in December) will revive the tired old plan to "get the container work". For years, after the CFS 50-mile radius and container tax was dumped by the courts, Archie whined "New York has it, why can't we?" But neither Archie nor Leo were ever willing to take the action really necessary to get jobs--namely a strike run by elected strike committees for a shorter work shift. They backed down under fire from the International just as Leo backed down and sabotaged the South Africa cargo boycott. How do you propose to get jobs now, Leo? Follow the ILA program of going to the courts hat in hand even after the courts have given the companies the right to deregister longshoremen? Pressure the Coast Committee? Or plead for handouts from Democratic Party politicians whom you publicly support despite their anti-working class racist program?

Dulaney, Theriault, Kaye, Austin and Kekai have shown themselves to be as ineffective as Wing, Mills and Stout were before them in combatting the PMA and the betrayals of Bridges and his stooges. Look at the record. These "anti-International" fakers have ignored and undercut repeated strike votes by the membership, sat and argued through repeated LRC and arbitration meetings (in violation of membership mandates) and led the union to a series of defeats. They used precious meeting time not to report on where we stand and organize the ranks to fight but concentrated most efforts into squeezing more money out of our dwindling pay checks for dues and assessments.

Don't Play Cop For PMA!

Now the entire local leadership is blaming our defeats on the longshoremen's "lack of discipline" and are calling for increased dependence on and cooperation with the PMA to punish and penalize longshoremen. The new LMO rules being cooked up by Brown, Robinson, and others will put the union in the position of helping PMA to enforce the pro-PMA PGP rules thereby undercutting union control of manning, job assignments and boards and categories. Their pretext of helping PMA enforce "discipline" is a cheap cover for driving men off the docks. Instead of fighting for more jobs, they (and PMA) argue for fewer workers!

Discipline used to be used to defend and strengthen the union against the employer by ensuring that hard-won union control of hiring and working conditions was maintained and to unify the ranks by ensuring equal distribution of work--and plenty of it. Now the officers and Executive Board come before the membership with a proposal to automatically penalize men with 5 days off on employer complaints! This playing cop for the employer in the name of "union discipline" has turned history on its head, setting brother squealing on brother in hopes of landing a little extra work.

The union must go back to the old tradition of defending <u>every</u> man charged by the employer and if some brothers don't observe pro-union work rules, let's handle it through union action. But the basic problem is that many men have become demoralized and driven into desperation by the PMA's squeeze on them and their justified lack of confidence in their leadership to fight for jobs. Instead of tightening ranks around a fighting program they see the leadership begging the employers to help maintain production and to assist the union bureaucrats in collecting dues, fines and assessments so the officers can maintain their present high standard of living while the rest of us go to hell.

The solution to the job problem is not harsher "discipline" penalties but a union which earns the respect of the membership by its militancy. Our program--no deregistrations, no forced early retirement, jobs for all through a shorter work shift at no loss in pay, and a big pay boost--can unite the whole membership and other maritime workers in a joint struggle against the employers. Placing no confidence in the bosses' government or its political parties to bail us out with unemployment and inflation on the rise, we say plainly that our jobs, working conditions and standard of living can only be secure under a workers government that nationalizes all basic industries including transport and places it under workers management. To fight for this we need our own party--a workers party. If the membership continues to place confidence in a leadership which bows to the companies and their courts, then most of us will be driven off the waterfront. Only if the ranks adopt a program of militant working-class struggle and develop a leadership committed to that can we stop the plan to reduce the union to several hundred steady men and the rest wearing out our shoes standing in the hall.

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REJECT FORCED TRANSFERS! DUMP THE CONTRACT! STRIKE FOR JOBS FOR ALL!

The membership at tonight's meeting must reject the attempt by the Executive Board and Bridges to have San Francisco declared a "Low Work Opportunity Port" (LWOP). If LWOP is put into effect it will have disastrous results, converting Local 10 into a strictly steady man operation in which the hiring hall is abolished and virtually all non-skilled men are driven off the waterfront.

The leadership rammed the LWOP proposal through the Executive Board on Feb. 24 by a slim vote of 9-6 with half the board absent. Recent editions of the Local 10 Bulletin are deliberately attempting to mislead and confuse the membership on the question. According to them, LWOP would help "equalize work for skilled men." But Chester inadvertently exposed this lie when he told the entire membership that from here on out new jobs coming into this port would be strictly on a steady man basis!

The bulletins claim that all the other ports are a worker's paradise of abundant jobs. But recent cuts in PGP coming from more payments to LA make clear that as containerization increases coastwide, all ports will suffer from a decline in work.

Lupher's ominous rumors from "reliable sources" that somebody at the Caucus is going to move to dump coastwide registration are designed to stampede us into "accepting" LWOP, i.e. you'd better transfer now before it's too late.

What The Contract Says On Low Work Opportunity Ports

The real truth is that the designation of SF as a Low Work Opportunity Port is not a matter of choice but is a contractual provision contained in Supplement III of the current contract (pp. 179-182). The leadership is trying to get members to agree with the idea when in fact it is going to be imposed on us whether we like it or not. Because the effect of LWOP will be so disastrous, they are trying to avoid a fight by tricking the membership into "voting" for its own death warrant.

What this Supplement provides for is very simple. Once the average hours worked by A men in a port are reduced to 18 hours (one-half the 36-hour PGP guarantee) for a continuous six-week period "...such situation shall constitute a LWOP for A men in that port." (Unless we can't read, that doesn't say anything about a vote to accept or reject.) It later states, "Men in Low Work Opportunity Ports shall be required to transfer to other ports where greater work opportunity exists..." Here's what the rest of the section boils down to:

1. They ask for volunteers on a seniority basis. If you volunteer and later change your mind for any reason you will be disqualified from PGP payments.
2. After volunteers are transferred, forced, compulsory transfers will be made by inverse seniority and anyone who refuses this forced relocation "...shall become ineligible for PGP benefits."
3. Once you transfer, whether voluntary or compulsory, you cannot go back to SF or any other port for three years, unless of course the port you go to also becomes an LWOP and you start all over again. This is the way the contract reads and it's signed by PMA and the ILWU.

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LWOP--The End of the Line

Brothers, this must be understood: LWOP is the end of the line. It is the final bitter fruit of the series of M&M Contracts that accepted reduced manning scales and loss of union control of work and hiring for the shiny bait of PGP, instead of fighting that all longshoremen would continue to have jobs through a shorter work shift at full shift pay. Now we are faced with the prospect of an unlimited number of transfers from SF because of no jobs. PMA flunkey Ward informed the Executive Board that the solution to the port's problems is the elimination of 1100 men! The LWOP provision is the beginning of that. It is a vicious scheme of musical chairs where nobody will win. It will set port against port with desperate longshoremen going at each other's throats in direct competition for a steadily diminishing number of jobs coastwide. At this point Local 10 will be reduced and isolated and PMA will have a clear road to begin deregistrations in SF and erase 40 years of union history. Lupher's threat to sue other ILWU locals would give the government a direct opening to legally approve these deregistrations as it has already given PMA blanket authority for deregistrations in the '59 B-men deregistration case.

Needed--A Fight For Jobs

But SF is not a "low work opportunity" port. Tonnage and productivity are at record levels--and so are profits. The Bay Area is the second largest volume container port in the world. The jobs are there and the only obstacle to all longshoremen having work is the rotten no-work contract and the leadership that defends it. The membership of Local 10 has only two choices: either we go like sheep to the slaughter, allowing ourselves to be transferred all over hell or we decide to dump the contract which permits this LWOP and reduces us to misery and to go outona coastwide strike for jobs. What we need is a strike for a shorter work shift at no loss in pay, no extended shifts, an end to 9.43, full union control of manning scales on all operations and skill training for all longshoremen at PMA expense.

Only Longshore Militant and its supporters stand for this program of more jobs, not fewer workers. Howard Keylor was elected Convention Delegate on this program, and will fight for it on behalf of Local 10. Yet the same pro-company leadership of Local 10 that is attempting to set port against port, worker against worker, black against white, has also moved to uphold the illegal International-imposed mandate and to violate the Local 10 Constitution by restricting the number of Caucus & Convention Delegates to 5 instead of the 10 provided by the Constitution. While the leadership claims "poverty", the exclusion is clearly political. The cost of a full delegation could easily be met if each delegate were paid only $ 50 per diem instead of the bloated $118 of wages and expenses now being paid. All those who voted to re-elect the Longshore Militant slate to the Executive Board should vote to seat the entire delegation.

We urge every single member to turn up tonight to support our motions. The only way to stop the LWOP procedure is to dump the contract and strike for jobs for all. It's the only way forward.

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STOP "LOW WORK OPPORTUNITY PORT"--DUMP THE CONTRACT

All those members at the March meeting who voted to table consideration of "Low Work Opportuntty Port" (LWOP) status for San Francisco until after the Caucus, believed they had set back the plans of the International and Local leaderships to implement Supplement III of the contract. Yet at tonight's meeting LWOP will be back on the agenda! At the March meeting, attended by nearly a thousand members, it was clear that the membership was opposed to LWOP and its forced transfers and would have voted down the leadership's recommendations decisively. We opposed Bill Proctor's diversionary motion to merely "table" the question because we knew damned well that it would give the officers leeway to re-introduce their recommendation and that is exactly what they have done.

The very next week the Executive Board voted to resubmit to the membership the same recommendation to declare SF a "low work opportunity port". Wing, Kaye and Kekai joined with Smith and Marshall on the vote, thereby cementing all sections of the leadership behind the LWOP designation. Then, at a Special Executive Board on April 6 it was decided to place before the April membership meeting the question of "what attitude" to take toward LWOP at the Caucus. There has been a deliberate blackout of this news in the Bulletins published by Lupher and Robinson, and it looks like they are all trying to put one over on the membership. The future of Local 10 is at stake and every member must turn out to put a stop to this backstabbing by the leadership.

Low Work Opportunity status is the end of the line, and if it is put into effect it will have disastrous results, converting Local 10 into a strictly steady man operation in which the hiring hall is abolished and virtually all non-skilled men are driven off the waterfront. With LWOP and the PCP squeeze, it is clear that San Francisco has been set up as the target local in a joint PMA/ILWU International operation to break the back of Local 10. If they can accomplish that, it will only be a matter of time when the same thing happens to all the other highly mechanized ports.

False Leaders

The ability of the membership to resist these attacks is being deliberately undermined by a leadership that is as afraid of an organized, angry membership as it is of PMA. Because they lack the guts for a fight themselves, they are trying to persuade the rest of the members that nothing can really be done to fight the effects of mechanization. The fact that Mills and Co. are for declaring SF a low work port should come as no surprise. Ever since they joined hands with the Bridges forces to block the membership's decision to strike against the 200 hours Test rule last year, it's been clear that they will fall in line when PMA and the International lean hard enough. With their phony reputations as "oppositionists" and their slick talk that half-sounds as though they're against LWOP, they are in fact the vaseline boys for the International.

Transfers No Substitute For Jobs

Equally dangerous is the position taken by Bill Proctor and Leo Robinson. Like Mills, Smith, Marshall and Bridges they agree with the proposition that the problem in Local 10 is that there are too many men in the port. But the real problem is that the union leadership has allowed PMA to reduce the number of jobs in the port through a series of contracts based on the original M&M agreement. They are not opposed to LWOP in principle. Their only argument is for a voluntary transfer program and to "delay any decision on low work opportunity until after the April Caucus." In other words, according to their logic, LWOP and forced transfers are inevitable unless we do the same thing "voluntarily."

(over)

This was why Proctor's motion to table was a deliberate move to prevent the membership from voting to kill the leadership's proposal outright. He doesn't believe the contract can be dumped.

Robinson and Proctor want the membership to accept the "fact" that there must be transfers. Their position is thus the same as the leadership's--their only difference is when and how the transfers take place. They are also guilty, along with the local leadership, of spreading the dangerous illusion that low work opportunity port designation is a matter of choice, which can be voted up or down or "delayed". In fact the LWOP designation is not a matter of choice but is a contractual provision contained in Supplement III of the contract (pp.179-182). The leadership is trying to get members to agree with the idea, because as far as the leadership is concerned, it is going to be imposed on us whether we like it or not. They are desperately trying to avoid a fight on the question, because there's only one way to stop LWOP and that is to dump the contract, and strike for more jobs and against layoffs. But despite occasional rhetoric by Mills, Proctor or Robinson about "scrapping the contract" they are all as opposed to a strike now, as they were during the 1975 contract negotiations that included Supplement III and LWOP in the first place. Instead, they are trying to lead the local into the blind alley of "pressuring" the Caucus. But this Caucus won't solve anything since it will be dominated by the same local leaderships who have rubber-stamped all of Bridges' sellouts since M&M. It's going to be "to hell with everybody else except me!"

Steady Men Jobs Expanding

Besides LWOP, PMA's attack on Local 10 is proceeding through job arbitrations on 9.43 and extended hours, as well as through Executive Board action. Recently another arbitration was held continuing the pattern of expanding the work of steady men. 9.43 reads, and has read since 1973: "Steady skilled men cannot be assigned to operate basic fork lifts up to five-ton capacity except under the following circumstances: (a)To fill out the 8-hour guarantee..." The arbitrator has now interpreted that "exception" to rule that a 9.43 man can spend one hour on heavy equipment and the other seven on small lifts!

In a parallel move which further undermines the hiring hall, the Executive Board voted, over the objections of Stan Gow and five others, to allow 9.43 men who get laid off, back on the skill boards they left to go steady, without waiting in line of seniority for the next official opening.

Then, last week, another sock-it-to-them decision on a section of the contract (in the contract since 1961) came down from the arbitrator on sec. 2.445. This reads: "a one hour leeway shall be allowed on the third shift, thus extending the five hour shift to a maximum of 6 hours..." Since there was no language stating specifically that the additional hour could only be added when the third shift was the final shift--which is the only way you can work six hours without a meal anywhere else in the contract--the arbitrator interpreted the contract to mean all third shifts could be penalty hours shifts. Yet for 16 years the unchallenged practice has been the extension for the 3:00 AM shift was only allowed when it was to be the final shift.

Dump The Contract--Fight For Jobs

But SF is not a "low work opportunity" port. Tonnage and productivity are at record levels--and so are profits. The Bay Area is the second largest volume container port in the world. The jobs are there and the only obstacle to all longshoremen having work is the rotten no-work contract and the leadership that defends it. The various schemes that pose transfers as the solution to the jobs crisis are a vicious hoax whose only effect will be to divide the union solidarity within the ILWU on a port-to-port basis, with PMA being the only victor. The membership of Local 10 must face the hard fact that the only course open to us is to dump the contract and prepare for a coast-wide strike for more jobs through a shorter work shift with no loss in pay, elimination of 9.43, no extended shifts, full union control of manning scales on all operations and training for all machinery, available to all longshoremen at PMA expense. We have the power to shut down the West Coast. Let's use it to win jobs and fight layoffs.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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(415) 564-8634 P.O. Box 33, El Cerrito, Ca. 94530 labor donated

STOP FORCED TRANSFERS AND DEREGISTRATIONS!

Despite clear evidence that the membership of Local 10 is opposed to the forced transfers and deregistrations that would result from SF being declared a "Low Work Opportunity Port", Williams and a majority of the Executive Board are again trying to ram through such a motion at Thursday's membership meeting. It is obvious that these people have utter contempt for the members of this Local and are determined to assist PMA in getting rid of 1000 men from SF, and converting Local 10 into a strictly steady man operation in which the hiring hall is abolished and virtually all non-skilled men are driven off the waterfront. They must be stopped and every member must turn out Thursday night to oppose these actions! Unless they are decisively defeated, they will keep coming back until they get what they want.

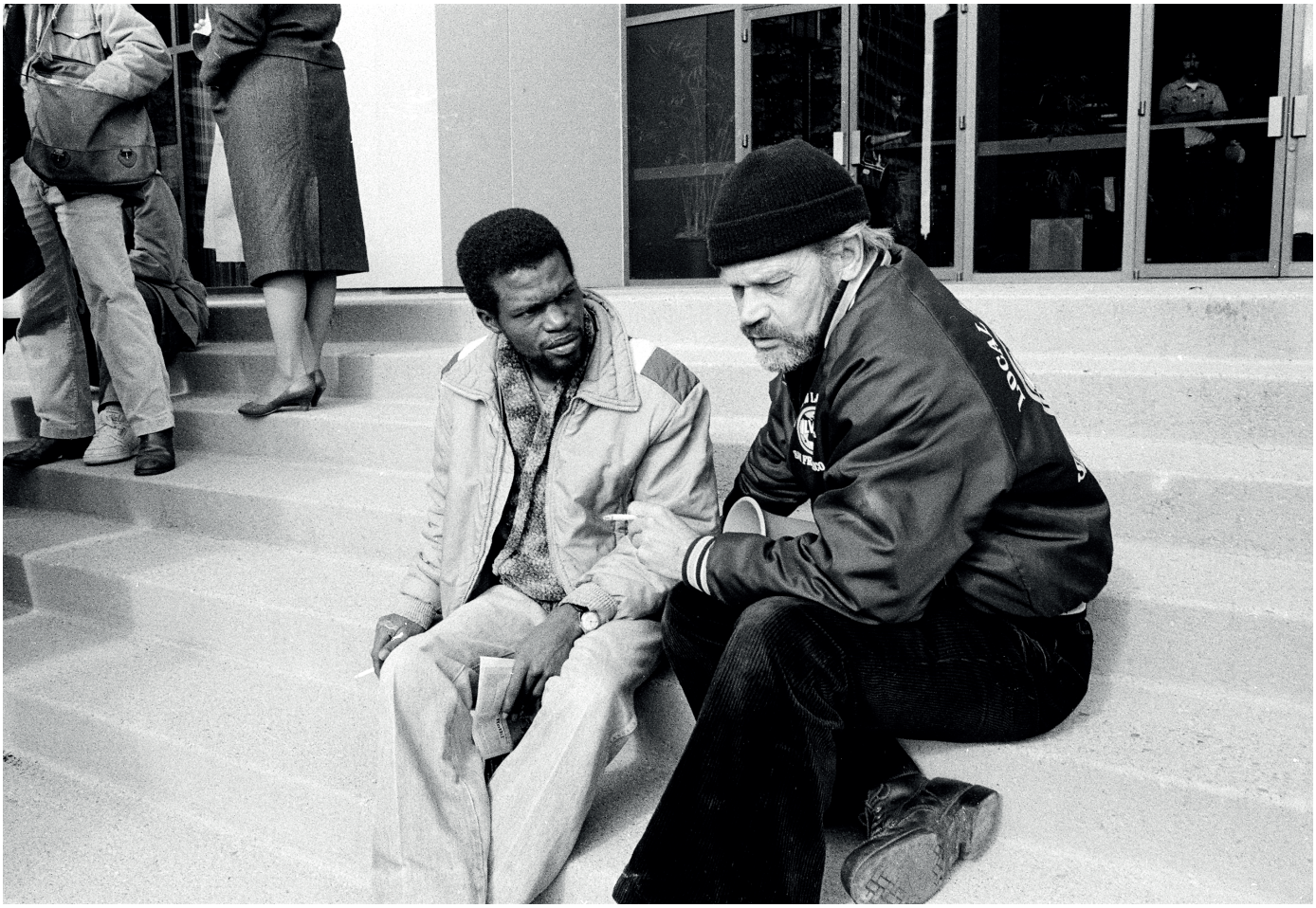
Dirty Deals At The Caucus

Furthermore, Williams is trying to create the impression in the Bulletin and his reports that the Caucus gave its blessings to invoking "Low Work Opportunity Port" (Supplement III) for SF, when just the opposite is the case. The one thing the Caucus would not agree to was Supplement III with its forced transfers. While SF is in the worst shape regarding work availability (because it has been "targeted" by PMA), work is declining in the other major ports as well, and they feared being swamped with forced transfers from Local 10.

With the exception of Seattle Local 19 (who proposed a program of 6 hours work at 8 hours pay) none of the other local leaderships had any proposals to create more jobs. So horsetrading began within the framework of the present contract which stipulates that forced transfers, forced early retirement and deregistrations are the only "solutions" to lack of work! LA, Portland and three Puget Sound locals wanted to register TW's and B men in their respective ports and made no provision whatsoever for any in-transfers. The Local 10 delegation was using the threat of invoking Supplement III to force a concession from the other locals to accept voluntary transfers. PMA flunky Huntsinger tipped the balance when he stated that PMA wanted 1000 men out of the Bay Area, and if the Caucus failed to act to transfer men out of SF, PMA would unilaterally invoke Supplement III which, he pointed out, is contractual and not a matter of choice. In addition to these arguments, Williams sought to intimidate the Northwest ports into accepting transfers by accusing them of racism and implied at the Convention Resolutions Committee that they could be forced to accept transfers through Affirmative Action lawsuits. This was a deeply cynical and dangerous maneuver to divide longshoremen along racial lines, fighting over ever fewer jobs. If Williams were really concerned about racial discrimination in the ILWU, he would not be trying to force 1000 members--black and white--off the SF waterfront.

So the Caucus capitulated and a rotten compromise was worked out. It was agreed that each port with vacancies would be permitted to register B men in exchange for taking a limited number of voluntary transfers. LA agreed to 75-100 voluntary transfers in exchange for united coast support for the immediate B-registration of the LA Terminal Workers, full union members who were passed over for promotion in 1969. This was clearly seen by the other delegates as a "lesser evil" to forced transfers required by Supplement III. The votes taken specified "voluntary transfers" and all ports made it clear this was to be done under the normal procedures for voluntary transfers contained in Supplement I. (The big ports attempted to force the smaller Northwest ports into taking an extra share of the transfers, and, led by Local 10, voted down a Puget Sound motion to register their casuals--many of whom have worked on the waterfront for 10 years or more.)

(over)

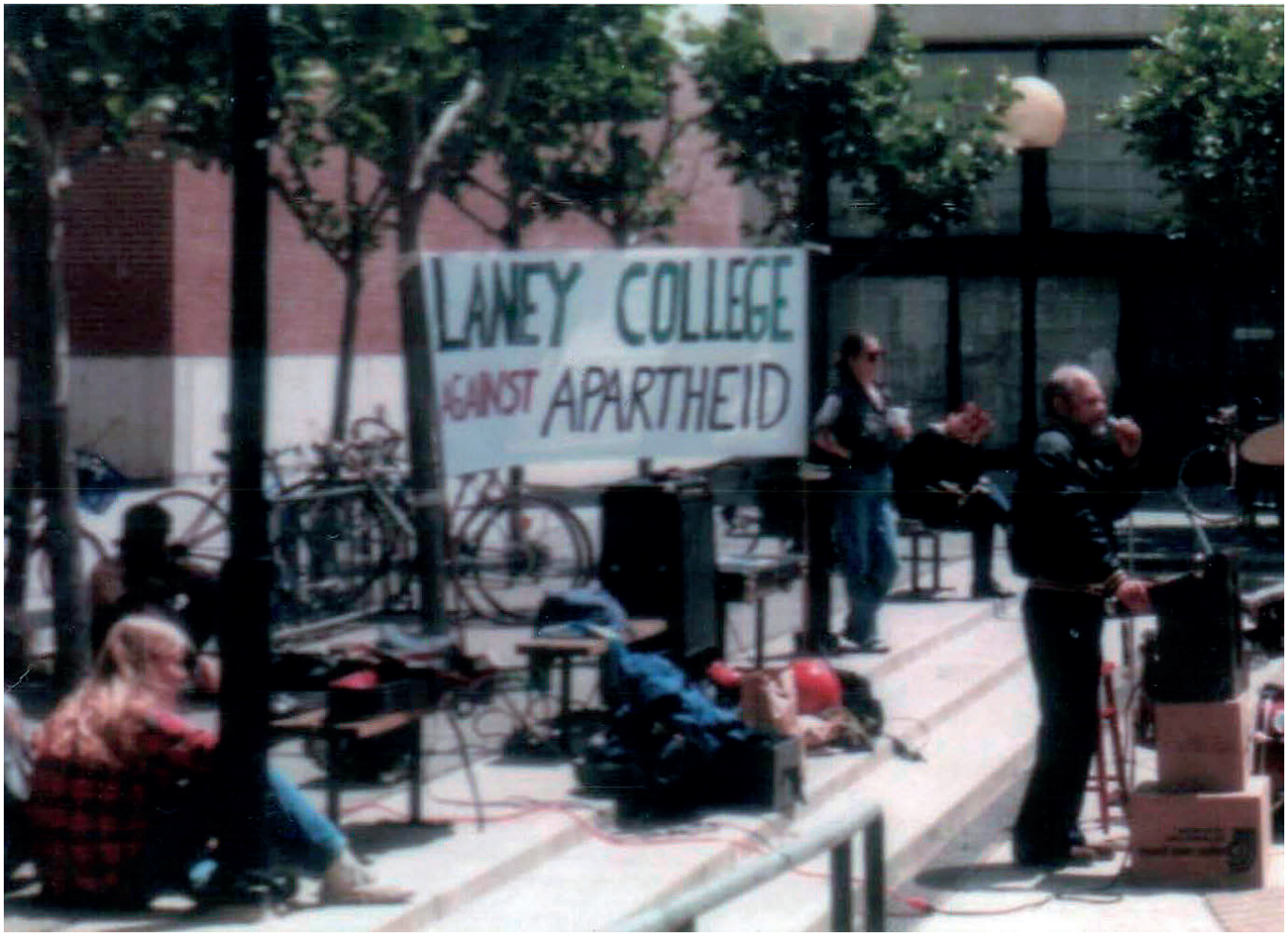


During the 1984 boycott, at a protest at PMA headquarters.

Howard Keylor speaks to anti-apartheid rally at UC Berkeley, December 1984

During the 1984 boycott

During the 1986 community picket. Howard on the right side.

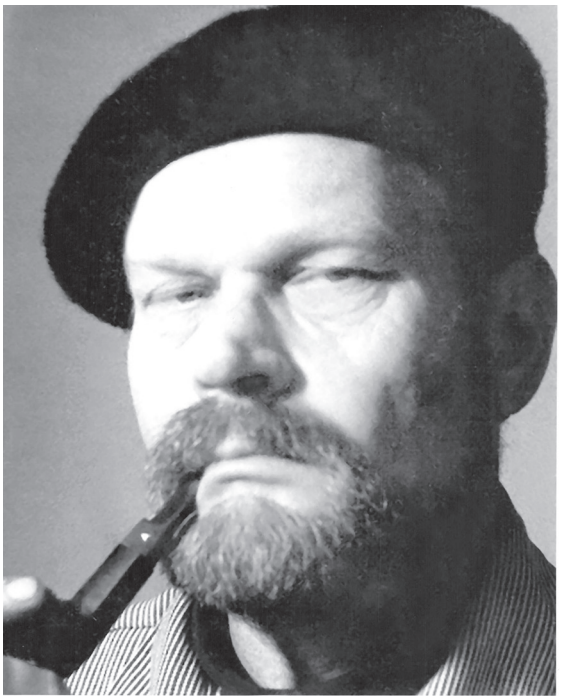


Howard at Laney College, at a 1986 protest against South African apartheid

December 1984: Howard Keylor addresses Berkeley students on anti-apartheid boycott

Photographs of the 1986 community picket of the *Nedlloyd Kembla*

Resume the
Longshore
Boycott!
Smash the
Apartheid
Invasion!



Howard's first election photo in the ILWU, in 1970. Howard wrote about this photo:

This is the only photo of myself that I really like! When I showed it to one of my fellow high school graduates she said that I looked threatening and sinister. I told her that it was intended to project the proper image for someone running for election in the longshore union.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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(415) 564-8634 P.O. Box 33, El Cerrito, Ca. 94530 labor donated

Vote No On Supplement III/LWOP!

Every member must turn out to defeat Williams and Co.'s efforts to "voluntarily" designate San Francisco a Low Work Opportunity Port (LWOP). On May 25, PMA stated its intention to declare SF an LWOP under Sup. III, exposing the hoax that LWOP is a matter of choice. Friday's referendum is illegal, unauthorized by either the membership or the Executive Board. Since Williams agrees with PMA that SF should be declared a "Low Work Opportunity Port", and the referendum is not legally binding, it is a blatant attempt to get a political endorsement for PMA policies. Thursday night the membership must vote to cancel the referendum and reject Sup. III outright. If the leadership persists despite the membership's clear opposition, Friday everyone must vote no on Sup. III.

Lupher's bulletin claiming that there is plenty of work in the other ports is a calculated distortion. The "casual" hours were worked by men many of whom have over 10 years on the waterfront and who have been promised 'B' registration by their locals. Lupher is trying to whip up sentiment against the other ports to trick us into "voting" for Sup. III. Reportedly, both the LA and Seattle leaderships have adopted official positions against SF "voluntarily" invoking Sup. III because they fear being swamped with forced transfers. If we invoke LWOP, the Longshore Division will be further divided and waakened, making all of us easier targets for PMA.

There is no more time for the worthless halfway measures of Mills, Wing, Kekai, Robinson and Proctor. Instead of forced transfers, the best they can come up with is the Longshore Caucus "program" of voluntary transfers and forced early retirement. They have no program for more jobs. Sup. III which is in the contract opens the door for PMA to begin mass layoffs in the form of deregistrations. Up to 1100 men will go, reaching as far back as '63 men. The only way to stop Sup. III is to dump the contract. To ensure that all longshoremen have jobs, we must strike for a shorter work shift at no loss in pay, the abolition of all steady categories in the Master Agreement, and manning scales on all operations.

Williams is claiming it's better if the union invokes Sup. III instead of PMA. But there is no "better" version of Sup. III. here's what it boils down to:

> "A. No Lay-Offs.
> There shall be no reduction in registered longshoremen or clerks work force during the term of the Agreement except for normal attrition due to quits, deaths and retirement, and deregistration for cause. This does not preclude the parties from agreeing upon a reduction in force should unusual circumstances develop."
>
> B. Under "Transfers of Men from Low Work Opportunity Ports" Sup. III provides that once the average hours worked by A men in a port are reduced to 18 hours (one-half the 36-hour PGP guarantee) for a continuous six-week period "...such situation shall constitute a LWOP for A men in that port."

It later states "Men in Low Work Opportunity Ports shall be required to transfer to other ports where greater work opportunity exists..." Transfers are first voluntary by seniority and then involuntary by inverse seniority. If you volunteer and change your mind or refuse forced transfer you lose PGP benefits. Once you're transferred you cannot go to any other port for three years.

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FOR REAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE ILA: DUMP THE CONTRACT! STRIKE FOR JOBS!

Brothers,

The ILWU has a golden opportunity to defend and solidarize with the ILA strike. We should jump at the chance. Their fight against the shippers for job security is our fight. The action taken by the ILWU honoring the official ILA picket lines established in LA and Oakland against the U.S. Lines' ship American Aquarius represents an important though limited first step of solidarity. The effectiveness of this action, the first ILWU coastwise action since the '71-'72 strike, shows the potential power of this union. The last time that East and West Coast maritime unions linked hands in strike action was 1946. That national maritime strike put an end to the labor "peace" imposed during WW II by the government with the help of the labor bureaucrats and won some of the greatest gains in the maritime union's history. A determined battle by the ILWU membership to carry through on the solidarity actions could lead to an equally important victory this time.

Extend the Action! Stop All Diverted Cargo!

The scope of the ILWU actions must be extended. The limitations imposed by the leadership undermine our effectiveness. When the ILA pickets were set up in Oakland, ILWU mmebers were directed to work behind the lines but not on the Aquarius itself. In contrast, the IBI and IAM refused to cross the line at all, helping to shut the whole operation down tight. This must be made official ILWU policy.

We must embargo all diverted cargo, not just that handled by "common employers". West Coast shippers must not be permitted to attack the ILA strike by arranging to move diverted cargo for the struck companies. Similarly, the ship owners cannot be allowed to circumvent the strike against container operations by using break bulk handling methods. All diverted cargo, container, break bulk and perishable, must be stopped.

Shut The Coast Down. Dump The Contract!

New Orleans longshoremen, recognizing the danger posed by Gleason exempting passenger ships, break bulk, military and perishable cargo entirely, decided to go all the way and shut down all shipping to win what they need. They've got a point. The effective actions in LA and SF should be extended to draw the whole west Coast, from San Diego to Vancouver and Alaska, into strike action for what we need: jobs.

This is the ideal time to dump our own contract. The ILA is trying for its first-ever coastwise contract so for the first time in years, East, South and Gulf port operations are being struck jointly. A solid west Coast strike would shut down all shipping and put the ship owners over a barrel. This is a rare chance to use the combined weight of a shutdown on both coasts as a tremendous lever to back up our demands.

We have nothing to lose and everything to gain. PMA has been nickel and diming us to death for years, slashing boards and gangs, depriving our disabled brothers of their right to earn a livelihood, cutting the PCP. Now PMA is moving in for the kill. The current leadership-engineered transfers combined with the declaration of additional Low Work Opportunity Ports are directly setting the stage for mass deregistrations under the "unusual circumstances" layoff provision of Sup. III. We all know that in SF alone PMA wants 1000 men permanently off the waterfront.

(over)

A West Coast strike now would have the maximum chance of defeating the employers. We could win what we need: jobs for all longshoremen through a sharply reduced work shift at no loss in pay, manning scales on all operations, and the abolition of steady categories with all Master Contract jobs dispatched through the hall. Confronted with the same drastic loss of jobs, the official demands of the ILA strike (which Gleason has no intention of carrying out) are: 32 hours work at 40 hours pay, wages up from $ 8 to $ 10 per hour, secure pensions and a fully funded guarantee.

"Solidarity Pact" Limits Effective Action

Herman and McClain together with the entire Local 10 leadership will scream "impossible, illegal" at the proposal to dump the contract. They'll threaten us with dire consequences from injunctions. But that's the kind of thinking which has led them and Bridges before them to stand by with arms folded while PMA picked us to pieces.

The "new" International regime and their Local 10 hatchetmen want to keep ILWU solidarity actions to a strict minimum and under the tight control of the ILWU and ILA tops. They fear that the membership will take matters into their own hands and in the process cast them and their pro-company policies aside. The so-called "Solidarity Pact" is filled with Catch 22's to prevent effective membership action.

The provision that only pickets sanctioned by the International president will be honored is a club to be used against rebellious locals like New Orleans should they dare send pickets to the West Coast. Mills stated flatly that the ILWU leadership would not honor rank and file picket lines when he led the pack at the last Executive Board in voting down our motion "...to honor any picket lines established by ILA members." And the provision that no solidarity actions will be mounted in violation of court orders or contracts is Herman/Gleason's pledge to run up the white flag of surrender in advance!

Elect Strike Committees!

The membership must seize this opportunity to act in solidarity with the ILA and go for our own demands. Longshoremen and clerks in every port should elect strike committees from boards, gangs, stewards councils, etc. in order to avoid being trapped by the restrictive policies of the leadership and to be prepared to ensure membership control of the union. Coordinated action between the ILWU and ILA, calling on the seamen's unions to join us, can defeat government/employer attacks, including a Taft-Hartley injunction. You can't load ships without longshoremen. The time for action has come. We must strike now in order to win the jobs which are every worker's right.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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HERMAN AND GLEASON TORPEDO STRIKE SOLIDARITY

West Coast longshoremen are losing the best chance since 1972 for joint nationwide ILWU/ILA strike action to win job security. The ILA pickets are gone and both ILA-struck shipping lines and West Coast shippers are pumping out cargo, by-passing the remaining ILA pickets on the East and Gulf Coasts.

The ILWU and ILA have not been defeated in a historic pitched battle with the shippers or by superior forces. The fighting capacity of both unions remains intact. Longshoremen are the victims of a calculated betrayal by both Jimmy Herman and Teddy Gleason. Like 1972 when Bridges and Gleason were under enormous rank and file pressure to wage a joint nationwide strike for jobs, the leadership once more stage-managed the action from the beginning to hold back the membership, limit the effectiveness of joint action, and lead to a preplanned retreat and betrayal of the sacrifices and hopes of working longshoremen.

The need and opportunity for a joint ILWU-ILA strike remains. The ILA still has eastern container traffic shut down. Nearly 50 ships are idled. Supporters of the Longshore Militant fought at the special membership meeting to extend the solidarity action--which had already tied up at least a dozen ships--by bringing the untapped reserves of both unions into play to meet the government's threat. The holes in the strike could have been plugged and the whole action strengthened immeasurably by shutting down all cargo--container, break bulk, passenger, military and perishable--on both coasts while using this rare opportunity to dump our own rotten contract. It is still not too late to take such powerful action. The only obstacle is the herman/Gleason leaderships who have demonstrated their unwillingness to wage a real fight against the employers and their government.

Pretense, Bluster and Grand-Standing=Betrayal

This was 1971-2 all over again. Bridges and Herman had exempted enormous amounts of cargo and took the union scuttling back to work as soon as the injunction was issued against us to prevent overlapping ILWU-ILA contract strikes. To drive the nail in our coffin, when the Taft-Hartley expired they ordered us to work three more weeks to clear the docks of cargo and then rushed to end the strike to prevent any resumption of joint action when the injunction against the ILA expired.

This time Herman and the local leadership encouraged the longshoremen, who took "bum dispatch tickets" to struck ships, to believe that the action would continue and expand in tying up East Coast cargo. They relied on legal gimmicks and "clever" argumentation, pretending to the ranks that the "picket line" language of the contract could substitute for bringing into action the full mobilized strength of the union. In reality, they limited their action to going through the steps of the grievance procedure, knowing that they would surrender as soon as Coast Arbitrator Sam Kagel and the Federal Judge ordered an end to West Coast solidarity action. Their treacherous plan was laid out in advance in the phony "Mutual Aid Pact" which pledged not to violate any court orders or contracts.

Williams and Co. did their part in ramming through the betrayal. When they finally called a meeting, Williams adjourned it abruptly to prevent us from exposing Herman's "back-up plan" involving the Masters, Mates and Pilots as a pile of Bull Shit that could last at most 1 or 2 days. Indeed, left isolated, the MMP was quickly forced back to work by an injunction and their solidarity action succeeded only in delaying one or two ships for a few hours.

We Can Defeat Injunctions--Through Militant Strike Action!

Jimmy Herman and George Kaye (among others) are fond of ranting that any effective strike action, either in our own behalf or in support of Richmond City workers on strike or to force recognition of black South African longshoremen's unions, will bring down government interference and is a "suicide course." If these labor fakers had been in leadership in the 30's we wouldn't have a union today! Not only do they admit defeat before even trying, but they ignore the early history of the ILWU and

the powerful industrial unions that were built and won their greatest gains again government strikebreaking.

have times changed? Not that much. Striking miners at Brookside in Harlan, Ky. won a bloody 13 month strike despite court injunctions, massive fines and constant scab and police assaults when the entire UMWA walked out for five days in August, 1974 to force union recognition. The recent massive coal wildcats went on for months against government strike-breaking court injunctions and lost primarily because the militant miners failed to elect centralized strike committees to take over leadership from their own labor-fakers. John L. Lewis is best known among old timers for his statement: "Injunctions don't mine coal." Neither do injunctions load ships!

A Nationwide Maritime Strike vs. Government Union Busting

Even though short-lived and limited, our solidarity action demonstrates what enormous economic power can be brought against the shippers by nationwide longshore strike action. The huge container companies with billions of dollars invested in ships, containers and equipment operating on a tightly scheduled, complex flow of cargo panicked at even a week's partial shutdown. A national dock strike, led by elected rank and file strike committees, could easily mobilize all maritime workers and could win support from millions of workers who would see the historic importance of a break-through fight for a shorter work day at no loss in pay to create more jobs and help prevent layoffs. Such a mobilization could smash government injunctions and would be a mighty lever against Jimmy Carter and his "peanuts" for workers.

herman and Gleason Like Injunctions

But herman and Gleason have no stomach for a fight. Our "leaders'" worst fear was that the membership would extend the solidarity action and in the process expose their no-win policies and sweep them into the bilges of history. They welcomed the federal injunction! It allowed them to blame the federal government with one hand while choking off the solidarity action with the other. After herman stopped the ILWU action, Gleason went after New Orleans longshoremen with a vengeance. He broke their three week strike against all cargo by getting a local president to threaten them with legal reprisals. The result of these backward steps is that the whole ILA strike is in jeopardy.

Needed--A New Leadership

herman's treachery should surprise no one. Bridges' hand-picked successor, a man whose home Local 34 has a greater percentage of steady (request) men than any other local on the coast, will not lead a fight for jobs for all longshoremen. Neither will Williams and the local honchos. It must be crystal clear that we need an entirely new leadership. All the so-called "anti-Bridges oppositionists" have had their chance and failed. Wing, Mills, Kekai, Kaye, Theriault, Zenn, Dulaney, etc.--all those who made it to local office promising that somehow they would reverse the years of defeat--to a man supported herman's Surrender. Every one of these characters ended up fronting for the same old policies of class collaboration.

It takes a lot of balls for Leo Robinson and Billy Proctor to pretend that they are some kind of union militants. During the '75 contract fight, the battle over Supp. III and now the ILA strike, they have been revealed to be pure and simple blow-hard apologists and front men for the leadership. Their leaflet praising the Gleason/herman "Mutual Aid Pact" boldly stated "In our estimation, nothing short of an 80 day Federal Injunction should prevent us from honoring the ILA pickets..." And they even dropped this second rate grand stand in favor of herman/Gleason's rowboat scheme. Leo was the only member to speak from the floor in favor of giving herman's plan "a chance"! We urge the brothers who have been horn-swoggled into signing their leaflets to tell these phony "militants" to kiss off.

Join and Build the Longshore Militant

With the elections coming up, the membership will again be hearing from a bunch of loud-mouths claiming that only they can save the union. These men either have been nowhere to be seen during the bitter battles the union has faced over the past several years--or they've been supporting the leadership. If the exemplary sacrifices and working class solidarity shown by so many of our brothers in support of the ILA strike are not to be wasted, the membership must not be fooled by any "election-day militants." A new leadership can't be built overnight during an election. It must fight together against the companies and the pro-PMA leadership around a common program in defense of the membership's interests. We of the Longshore Militant will be running on our program which has proven over time to be the only strategy for union victory. We see this campagin as part of our ongoing battle to build a large organized caucus of union militants who reoognize that only through uncompromising opposition to the employers, their courts, cops and political parties, can the ILWU survive. The only way to avoid defeat in 1978 is for serious union members who have till now stayed on the sidelines or played only a partial role to come forward and join us.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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(415) 534-6290 P.O. Box 33, El Cerrito, Ca. 94530 labor donated

Prepare To Strike For Jobs!

The issue in this year's Local 10 election is not just a question of who gets to live well on our dues money while the gang and hall men try to survive on PGP or 2-3 days work a week. This election will influence whether we continue to retreat in the face of PMA attacks on our jobs, our union, and our hiring hall, or go forward.

Mechanization and containerization continue to eat away our jobs. Every day the PMA openly violates the contract on extended shifts, manning, jurisdiction, and safety, threatening us with the club of arbitration, time off for "illegal work stoppages," and no PGP when we resist.

Skilled (and even unskilled) jobs are eaten up by steady men who in turn suffer speed-up and harassment as if they had no union, while a fatal wedge is further driven between steady men and hall men.

Our local bureaucrats have given in to a wholesale cut in boards and gangs ordered by the arbitrator; they have tried to put over new LMO dispatch rules limiting men's time off, and are even now pushing a new "rotary dispatch" calculated to force 7-day availability.

These "leaders" have defeated every move to cancel the contract and strike to force PMA to hire more longshoremen at shorter hours with no reduction in shift pay and to dispatch all men from the hall on a Low-Man-Out basis. Some men who have been driven desperate by short pay checks have begun to chisel on the dispatch. Records checkers, dispatchers, and officers look the other way and refuse to give leadership in halting this corrupting breakdown in union discipline; a breakdown which leaves us disunited in the face of PMA attacks.

1977 saw longshoremen ordered to work behind striking Richmond city workers' picket lines, allowed to work cargo diverted from the Los Angeles ships clerks strike, and instructed to work cargo and ships diverted from the ILA strike. These same officers run the union behind the scenes, report almost nothing to the membership, and manipulate quickie membership meetings in which any issue of importance brought up on the floor or read in the Executive Board minutes is ruled "out of order", referred to the officers, or placed at the end of the agenda where it's lost. The president, with the cowardly acquiescence of the other officers arbitrarily adjourns the meeting as he pleases when rank-and-file

(continued page 2)

For Executive Board
RE-ELECT
Howard Keylor & Stan Gow

For President: Elect Howard Keylor

discussion gets hot.

Who is responsible for these betrayals and this misleadership? Not just the politicians we used to refer to as the "bridges stooges." They have been joined in all these atrocities by the former self-styled "anti-Bridges" good guys. All is sweetness and unity on the platform while they join together to head off a fight for jobs while cooperating with PMA to declare SF a "Low Work" port--a move to export poverty by transferring a handful of men to other ports. Every substantial contract resolution submitted by locals at the April 1977 Caucus was referred to the 1978 Caucus for future consideration.

As a final blow to strangle Local 10, Williams, with the aid or silence of the other officers is trying to prevent San Francisco from exercising its power at the important contract caucus, by limiting us to 6 delegates, instead of 11 as is provided for in the constitution.

Dozens of men have asked us in a puzzled voice, "Now why should they (the officers) not want us to be fully represented when we make up contract demands?" The answer is that Herman is calling the shots on this one and this is simply an unconstitutional continuation of the Bridges 1973 Mandate to stifle Local 10 opposition to his sellout policies. These fakers fear an aroused rank and file more than they fear the employers. Their job is to keep the membership demoralized, confused, and divided so that no real confrontation with PMA breaks out.

Contract Demands

Longshoremen from Bellingham to San Diego are catching on that our only salvation as a union lies in a strike around contract demands that force the PMA to hire more men, restore equal job opportunity to all longshoremen, remove the contractual restrictions on job action to protect ourselves, and eliminate arbitration, whose function is to disarm the union membership and force it to rely on passive, "legalistic" procedures.

A work shift short enough to put everyone to work at no reduction in shift pay; full manning scales on all operations; no steady men in the Master Contract; junk the no-strike (Section 11) clause from the contract, eliminate arbitration and establish a grievance procedure based on the unlimited right to strike to prevent PMA harassment and contract violation.

The question is often asked by brothers who don't understand the capitalist system, "Why if PMA is making such profits from mechanization don't they just buy us off by giving us all a weekly job or a wage for life? They can afford it." One reason brothers, is that PMA wants to weaken the union to where it will never again threaten their drive for a completely submissive work force!

Can We Win A Strike?

Many brothers have asked us: "Stan (or Howard), what's the solution--a strike?" The answer is: "yes, brother." After 17 years of defeat and retreat it will take a hard, well-run strike just to save our jobs and our union. But the biggest obstacle in the way of strike victory is this collection of gutless, spineless, class-collaborationist misleaders both locally and in the International. The only chance we have of preventing an ineffective strike like 1971-72 that was run rigidly (and badly) from the top by Bridges and his cronies, that allowed most PMA-owned ships to operate full-scale during the strike, is to elect rank-and-file strike committees from all boards and gangs, linked up coastwise to run the strike. In every successful longshore strike--1934, 1936, 1946 and 1948--rank-and-file strike committees ran the strike locally and coastwise.

"But what about Herman, why don't you guys give him a chance?" argue some men. Just a few facts about Brother Jimmy Herman. His former Local 34 has one of the highest percentages of steady (request) men in the waterfront division. Jimmy has been Harry Bridges' chief floor manager at every recent longshore caucus up to the '77 caucus which managed to head off a fight for jobs and left full negotiating and strike powers in the hands of Bridges and his cronies. Herman was Bridges' right-hand man during the disastrously betrayed 1971-72 strike. After all the big

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talk at the '77 Caucus about an agreement with the ILA not to work struck lines and diverted cargo, Herman backed off after less than two weeks of observing ILA pickets, with no more talk about a common contract expiration date with the ILA or even ILA contract language "permitting" the ILA to observe our picket lines when we hit the bricks. Rhetoric, grand-stand plays, and capitulation clothed in verbal fireworks are Brother Jimmy's style.

The Right To Strike Over Grievances and Observe Other Workers' Picket Lines

Why do we place such an importance on removing from the contract any restrictions on the right to strike and take job action and abolishing the system of arbitration that dictates settlement of disputes? The right to stop work either by gang, ship, port or coastwise was the most potent weapon longshoremen had to force the employer to live up to the agreement. Except for the World War II period when pro-war labor bureaucrats imposed "no-strike pledges" on many unions, we had and exercised this right to job action over Bridges' objections up until 1960 when Bridges gave it away and forced arbitration on the ranks.

The United Mine Workers are now going into a life-and-death struggle to preserve their union and retain their historic tradition of the right to strike over grievances and respect for all picket lines which the Arbitration Board--with the collusion of Miller and the UMW top leadership--has just recently outlawed. The ruling even allows an individual member to be fired for simply handing out a leaflet describing his grievance. And the UMW didn't even have an explicit "no-strike clause" in their contract.

We in the transportation industry especially need the cooperation and support of other maritime and transport workers to win our own battles. Refusing to handle struck or diverted cargo was the strongest weapon used in the early history of the union to develop maritime, warehouse and transportation support for each others' strikes and organizing campaigns.

Needed--A New Leadership

None of the candidates for top office, Caucus delegate or Executive Board have presented a winning strategy. Zenn and Wing, Lupher and Kaye, Smith and Mills, Watkins and Theriault, Mosely and Dulaney, etc. have all had their chance and have all remained subservient to the no-win strategy embodied in their abject respect for the contract and fear of the government.

A vote for Howard Keylor for president, and for Stan Gow and Howard Keylor for Executive Board will strengthen the necessary struggle to build a new leadership that can unite the ranks around a winning program and strategy.

This is a hostile capitalist government which will use every means to preserve employer profits and handicap workers' struggles to survive--inflation, depression and capitalist crisis. Nationally and internationally, the working class must build its own strength independent of reliance on capitalist courts, politicians or parties. This conviction is what divides us from all the other candidates for local office. We believe that a leadership can be built on a class-struggle basis that can protect us from the worst ravages of this irrational capitalist system. But no final victories can be consolidated by longshoremen or any workers until we have a workers party based on the unions which will fight for a workers government.

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Defeat The Herman/Wing/Mills No-Win Strategy!

Elect Gow and Keylor To the Coast Caucus

Here we go into the second round of the Local elections with Caucus delegates to be selected and the contract expiration date less than five months away. There's a wide spread between what the membership needs and wants in the next contract to save our jobs and our union, on the one hand, and the direction the International and Local leadership is heading on the other.

International President Jimmy Herman made it clear in his speech and remarks to the first Local 10 contract workshop that he sees no strike or strike preparations needed, with contract demands limited to improvement in PGP and vacations, and maybe a couple more holidays. Gow and Keylor spoke--pointing out the desperate need to abolish steady men, force the employers to put more men to work through a shorter work shift at no loss in pay and the need for manning scales on all operations. They challenged Herman's no-strike, no-win policy, his praise and support of the present contract and his endorsement of the contract strategy of Bridges. President Herman then launched into an hysterical red-baiting attack on us and refused to answer our questions. Our local officers present (Williams, Mills) remained silent during this performance.

Herman is aware that the membership coastwise realizes that we've been had, that the direction in which we've been led for at least 18 years has been a continuing disaster and that following along this line means layoffs, most men "steady" and a smaller and weaker union. He is trying desperately to head off membership discussion which could lead up to real contract demands that would unite the coast, lead to a strike and take control of negotiations and the strike out of his hands.

The strategy of Herman and the International is to divide and confuse the membership and even the Longshore Coast Caucus. The questionnaire on contract demands mailed to the members omits the demand for abolishing steady men from the contract and the whole subject of grievance procedure and job action. Nor does it pose a shorter work shift at no loss in pay as the solution to the jobs crisis. This questionnaire is intended as a substitute for the membership adopting and controlling the contract demands. Instead Herman will end up with a laundry list of dozens of "contract demands" he can point to and say, "The membership doesn't know what it wants, so we (the International) will have to decide for them." Our motion, adopted by the membership, for a stop-work contract meeting Feb. 4, represents an important step in assuring membership control of the early stages of negotiation.

Herman's second slick trick--the "area caucuses"--is scheduled to start in early February. By calling four area caucuses in which each of the four big locals' caucus delegates will meet with the delegates from the smaller locals in their area--but isolated from each other--the International hopes to set region against region, big locals against each other and force through a minimum, no-win contract strategy guaranteeing that the Coast Caucus decisions will be cut and dried. Herman wants to avoid what developed at the April '77 non-contract Caucus, where the three big locals of LA, SF and Seattle met together and made tentative steps toward a common strategy against steady men, a move Bridges had some difficulty in heading off. If Herman can

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get us fighting over transfers and promotions, layoffs, PGP, travel and under-cutting on manning and speed-up to compete for cargoes, then Bridges' old strategy of divide-and-conquer can work for him, leaving the International in control and avoiding a fight with PMA.

Meanwhile the membership is beginning to move the other way, toward a confrontation with PMA over jobs and the control of the hiring hall. At several recent Executive Board meetings and at the first workshop, discussion on steady men centered around modifying steady men to provide for only higher seniority men to go steady, or rotate steady men through the hall every so often. This last was Herman's suggestion, pointing toward getting a majority of Local 10 as part-time steady men like his own local, Ships Clerks Local 34. But at the second workshop the Seattle Local 19 contract resolution, endorsed by all clerks and longshore locals in the Puget Sound, Wa. area, came up and upset Herman's timid approach. That resolution demands, as a strike issue, the elimination of 9.43, Crane Supplement and CFS steady men from the contract and the introduction of skills training for all longshoremen who want it! This approach (identical to the Longshore Militant demand on steady men) was so compelling that the workshop and later the Executive Board voted unanimously to adopt it as ours, send it to LA and take it to the membership, which overwhelmingly adopted it.

Seattle also passed a contract resolution demanding 8 hours pay for a 6-hour work shift and last April introduced a resolution demanding the elimination of arbitration and arbitrators from the contract. Thus, Seattle Local 19 has introduced several of the key demands for which we have been calling.

Local Leaders Line Up With Herman

Where are the anti-Bridges "heroes" of yesterday? Where did they stand on the life-and-death issues hammering at Local 10 this past year? How about Wing, Mills, Kaye, Dulaney, Theriault, Kekai and Zenn? All of these "heroes" and self-styled pro-rank and file "good guys" combined with the old discredited pro-Bridges machine to cave in to the PMA/International attacks on the Local (Supp.III, transfers, Rotary Dispatch), moved to increase dues, and supported Herman's strategy of surrendering to PMA/government pressure, forcing us to work diverted ILA cargo during the ILA strike. They either supported or remained silent at the sickening sight of San Francisco longshoremen working behind Richmond City worker picket lines and Local 10 working ships diverted from the LA ships clerks strike.

Newly-elected Secretary-Treasurer Herb Mills is posing as a militant by talking about a strike (8 years late) with no perishables or military cargo worked. But he omits the demand to stop diverted cargo by sending pickets to the Mexican border and the ILA ports, asking ILWU longshoremen in Vancouver, Canada not to work diverted cargo and calling on West Coast seamen to go out with us. But worst of all, Mills makes no mention of the disastrous policy followed in 1971-72 of turning over complete authority for running the strike to the International-controlled Coast Negotiating Committee. Ask Herb where he stands on our call for rank-and-file strike cmmmittees elected from gangs, boards, and shifts to run the strike locally and linked-up, coastwise, to coordinate coast strike strategy! His opposition to membership control is made crystal clear by his and Wing's opposition in '77 to 10 delegates (plus the president) and their unsuccessful attempt to block the 10 delegates this year.

And it was Herb Mills who directed Herman's criminal "back-up" scheme of rowboat pickets (!) to kill the joint action with the ILA because of a judge's order to cross picket lines. In light of Mills' pre-planned capitulation to a local judge, it is certain he will try to kill any strike action in the face of Federal Taft-Hartley injunctions or other government strikebreaking. And in light of Carter's new plans for wage restraints and the recent wage restraints imposed on the Canadian ILWU by the Canadian government, we must be prepared to defy any government injunctions in a strike. For this, Herb Mills will only be an obstacle.

Where has Local President-elect Larry Wing been these past two years? Silent and absent for the most part, after caving in to the 1975 contract without a struggle for a strike. Only now, after he is safely tucked into the office of Local President (and after he endorsed the four International officers for election) has Wing signed a leaflet (Jan. 19) stating what he proposes to do for the oncoming contract period! And not surprisingly, Wing is making good use of Leo Robinson and Billy Proctor, the

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permanent stooges for whoever happens to be holding office. Once again their "position" is a lengthy statement of vague generalities combined with not-so-subtle hints of what they will sell out, e.g. "We might have to consider taking the shorter shift of 6 or 7 hours, at no loss of pay, and at the same time consider no increase in shift pay for the first 6 months or a year." As if this offer would appease the PMA! Of course these misleaders praise herman's questionnaire maneuver as a "positive effort at involving the membership" (!)...Their support to herman is quite explicit: "There will be no room for any question about the need to back the Coast leadership..."(!)

Only a well-run strike can counter the PMA. But what do Wing, Robinson, Proctor & Co. say about a strike? After noting that "we think it will take one to win significant demands this time around" (as opposed to last time?) this statement is then filled with doubts: "If at that time we find ourselves with no alternative but strike to win our demands, then we should learn some lessons from the infamous strike of '70-'71." And what have they learned? Only how better to sabotage a strike--first by proposing to "do away with the veto set-up" which made it difficult for Bridges to get the 1975 contract passed! Of course these fakers do not propose elected rank-and-file strike committees, but merely more membership "guidelines" which of course will be ignored by the International and local officers. And don't expect Wing to oppose government interference in our strike, since he himself has twice tried to settle union matters through the bosses' courts and laws, including the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin law!

One thing should now be perfectly obvious. Robinson and Proctor stand openly with Wing and herman on a non-strategy designed to destroy a successful strike.

Robinson and Proctor ended up supporting Supplement III, and at an Executive Board last summer Robinson actually threatened to sue the other locals to force transfers on them. They also supported the Rotary Dispatch section of Supplement III. While the membership hasn't felt the effects yet, Rotary Dispatch will compel 7-day availability to secure maximum earnings, further divide each board in earnings, and set up the men who only cover their plug and depend on PGP to being singled out by the PMA for reprisal.

April Caucus

Gow and Keylor are candidates for Caucus Delegate. We don't see the Caucus as the only important body during a contract period. Caucus delegates are mostly bureaucrats or aspiring local politicians. The membership and elected rank-and-file strike committees responsible to the membership are decisive in developing contract demands and strike strategy. We must resist PMA and government strikebreaking by appealing to the rank and file of transportation and maritime unions for support to our demands. Election of Stan Gow and Howard Keylor to the Coast Caucus will give us a platform to address other locals, their membership and their delegates for a jobs-winning strategy.

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Contract Demands

We advocate the following as the main strike demands for the next contract:

Abolish Steady Men

1. Support the Puget Sound resolution for eliminating all steady categories from the Master Contract with skill training for all men at company expense.

Shorter Work Shift

2. A shorter work shift (at no loss of shift pay) sufficient to provide 5 shifts per week for all longshoremen.

3. A big pay increase with a full Cost-Of-Living-Adjustment (COLA).

Fixed Manning Scales

4. A fixed manning scale on all operations.

Grievance Procedure--The Right To Strike

5. Eliminate Section 11 of the PCLCD in its entirety to enable the union to use job action or strike action in defense of our members and in support of other workers. Eliminate all reference to arbitration or arbitrators from the agreement.

Abolish Supplement III

6. Eliminate Supplement III (transfers of men from Low Work Opportunity Ports, Rotary Dispatch, etc.) in its entirety from the PCLCD. Restore control of the hiring hall to the union.

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Derrotar a la Estrategia Perdedera de Herman ~ Wing ~ Mills

SPAN 151

Elegir a Gow y Keylor Al Caucus Costero

Ahora entramos en la segunda jornada de las elecciones locales, la selección de los Delegados al Caucus Costero, y el contrato vigente tiene menos de 5 meses más de vida. Hay un trecho ancho entre lo que quiere y necesita la membrecía, en un lado, y lo que empujan los liderатos Internacional y Local en el otro lado.

El presidente Internacional, Jimmy Herman, lo hizo claro en su oración y sus otras palabras a la primera conferencia de Local 10 sobre el contrato que él no vee la necesidad ni de una huelga ni de las preparaciones para ella, puestó que las demandas contractuales se limitan a mejoramientos de la garantía (PGP) y vacaciones, y quizas la adición de unos días de fiesta. Hablaron Gow y Keylor, notando la necesidad urgente de abolir a los permanentes (steady men), forzar que los patrones empleen más trabajadores con un turno más corto sin pérdida del sueldo, y obligar que se fijen los tamaños de las cuadrillas en todas operaciones. Desafiaron a la política perdedera y anti-huelga de Herman, a su apoyo y alabanza del contrato vigente, y a su endoso de la estrategia contractual de Bridges. El presidente Herman luego empezó un histérico ataque anti-comunista contra nosotros y rehusó responder a nuestras preguntas. Los dos presentes oficiales locales, Williams y Mills, se quedaron mudos durante esta tirada.

Herman sabe que la membrecía costera se da cuenta de que hemos sido engañados, que el camino en cual nos han dirigido los oficiales durante los últimos 18 años ha resultado en desastre, y que continuar en este camino resultará en rebajadas, una mayoría de permanentes, y una unión más pequeña y débil. Herman está tratando de evitar una discusión por la membrecía que puede resultar en verdaderas demandas contractuales que unirán a la costa, causarán una huelga, y quitarán de sus propias manos el control sobre las negociaciones y la huelga.

La estrategia de Herman y la Internacional es dividir y confundir a la membrecía y aún al Caucus Costero. El cuestionario sobre demandas contractuales, enviado a los miembros, omite la demanda "abolir a los permanentes del contrato" y omite el entero sujeto del procedimiento de agravios y acción huelguística. Ni siquiera plantea una reducción de las horas del turno sin pérdida del sueldo como la resolución del crisis de la falta de trabajos. Este cuestionario se intenta como un substituto a la adopción y control por los miembros de una serie de verdaderas demandas. En vez de ésto, Herman tendrá una cadena de dozenas de "demandas" que él puede mostrar para decir: "La membrecía no sabe qué quiere, pues nosotros (la Internacional) tendremos que decidir para ellos." Nuestra moción, adoptada por la membrecía, para una reunión "pare-trabajo" el 4 de feb. para discutir el contrato, representa un paso importante hacia el control por los miembros sobre las primeras etapas de negociaciones.

El segundo truco de Herman--los "cáucuses regionales"--se fija empezar al principio de febrero. Convocando caucuses en los cuales los delegados de cada de los cuatro grandes locales se encontrarán solo

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Herman's Program: No Strike, Fewer Jobs

For almost three years we've suffered the effects of this rotten contract and a leadership which sabotages the ranks' resistance to employer attacks. We are less than three months away from July 1 and a real opportunity to get what we need but this same leadership has prevented the ranks from discussing and determining a set of demands to win job security, unifying the membership around those demands, and developing a strategy to win.

What are the main essential contract demands to achieve some measure of job security and to protect our union and our power to retain those gains?

1) Abolish all steady men in master contract. Skill training available for all longshoremen.
2) Manning scales on all operations as we had prior to the 1961 sellout M&M Contract. The ILA has 20-man container gangs, 3-man CFS gangs, 12-man steel and heavy lift gangs, and 15-man general cargo gangs.
3) Shorter work shift at no reduction in pay to create more jobs.
4) Eliminate arbitration. For the unlimited right to strike to protect ourselves and in support of other workers.

Our prediction that International President Jimmy Herman and the International Officers would act as an obstacle to achieving these aims is proven by their actions over the past few months:

1) The confusing "shopping list" questionnaire mailed to members, really a device to prevent membership debate.

2) Herman's continual public repetitions at area "mini-caucuses" that we don't expect, want, or need a strike because we can reach a peaceable settlement by "responsible" negotiations, while viciously attacking as "enemies of the union" anyone warning that we must have a strike to get what we need.

3) The Area Caucuses--As the only Local 10 member to attend both Northern and Southern California Area Caucuses, Howard Keylor observed the partial success of Herman's strategy of dividing the four big locals from each other in order to induce them to water down their essential demands even before the Coast Caucus in April. Herman repeatedly attacked the demands for abolition of steady men, manning scales, and shorter work shift as almost impossible demands and instead set beefed-up PGP as the main contract demand, in spite of the membership's insistence that we want paid jobs, not welfare. Herman is taking his cue from Teddy Gleason who dumped the fight for jobs in the ILA, in favor of more dollars in the Guaranteed Annual Income Kitty.

Cowardice, Compromise, Cover-up

To counter the major locals' demand to eliminate steady men, Herman is developing a strategy with the slogan "equalization of earnings" to even further extend steady men and wreck the hiring hall by rotating groups of steady men (like the Request Men in Clerks Local 34) whereby a majority of the men in a local are selected on a periodic basis by individual employers. This will ensure a tame, humble work force and isolate the militants in a hiring hall left with very little work.

Our Local Officers and their tame Executive Board have done everything in their power to prevent the preparation of the membership for the coming struggle and to give the leadership leeway for a sellout labeled "reasonable compromise." For over two months they have blocked and ignored a motion passed by the membership for a stop-work meeting the first Saturday in February to formulate contract demands. They have stymied our repeated attempts at the Executive Board and membership meetings to force them to carry out this simple democratic act.

All the Officers past and present have limited discussion and preparation of contract demands to the Executive Board and meetings of the Caucus delegates except for the steady man issue. Despite unanimous membership action to endorse the Seattle Local 19 resolution to abolish all steady men and force the employers to train men, recent discussions show that the Officers and delegates are preparing to compromise on this question essential to the union's survival. We can look for them to settle for limiting the selection of new steady men to the skill boards (dividing the Local by seniority) and a few limits put

(over)

on steady men such as not driving lift in the hold. These Officers are trying to split us from Seattle and Los Angeles by their willingness to accept Crane Supplement Steady Men, the big problem in these locals.

Their resolution No. 15 on the shorter work shift means 7 hours work for 7 hours pay! A "demand" that creates not one more job but puts less money in a man's pocket.

Herb Mills' Resolution No. 13 on grievance procedure accepts the right of the arbitrator to decide whether a work stoppage is "legitimate" and is even weaker than the Seattle resolution which would eliminate arbitration. Furthermore, Mills' resolution would still force us to go through ILA or other workers' picket lines.

Resolution No. 20 (Early Retirement), Larry Wing's favorite, embodies the principle of a steadily declining work force. "The principle of layoffs from the top shall be observed." Instead of fighting to force the employers to hire more men, the Caucus delegates are prepared to go for a smaller, weaker union.

Two Years Of Betrayals

Anyone observing the actions of this gutless bunch during the past two years shouldn't be surprised at this display of cowardice and misleadership. Almost to a man they supported and campaigned for the present International Officers and have loyally carried out their wishes while avoiding any confrontation with PMA attacks on the union. Instead of a fight for more jobs they fell in with herman's scheme of "port against port" and the Supplement III export of poverty from San Francisco. These same Officers encouraged and condoned widespread chiseling in order to force the Local in desperation to give up the hard-won gains in the LMO system and adopt the Low Work Opportunity Port contract provision for "Rotary Dispatch". Already we can see an erosion of men's contractual right to time off and men competing with each other for jobs 7 days a week.

All the Officers went along with herman's ineffectual grandstand play of first recognizing ILA pickets, and then working diverted East Coast cargo on a judge's order.

These Officers and Executive Board members accepted with barely a whimper the PMA's attack on the hiring hall by eliminating boards and reducing and placing a limit on dispatch categories. In a further move to drive older and disabled men off the waterfront, PMA is now demanding the reduction of the Dock Preference Board from 100 to 15 men, the Day Dock Board from 200 to 100 men and the Night Dock Board from 50 to 10 men under the pretext of "PGP abuse." Our motion at the Executive Board to refuse to arbitrate the jobs of our older and disabled members and to threaten stop-work action to protect these men was voted down at the Officers' insistence. Their miserable record should convince the ranks that the Local leadership is no less an obstacle than the International Officers to a winning contract strategy.

All Words--No Action For The Coal Miners

Look at what happened to the recent heroic coal miners strike, the most important and bitter strike carried out by an important group of industrial workers in the last thirty years. It was clear from the beginning that Carter would try to weaken and break the UMWA strike. If the labor movement had taken stop-work action instead of passing "paper resolutions", it would have helped the coal miners succeed in smashing government strikebreaking. And our own position in the upcoming contract fight would have been enormously strengthened. Stop-work actions and mass labor rallies in support of the miners could have discredited Taft-hartley and helped remove a major obstacle to successful strike action in longshore. Presidents Williams and Wing supported by the other Officers defeated our every motion and effort to take any real support action against Carter's strikebreaking. Both herman and our local Officers indicated a fear that "miners fever" would spread, that longshoremen might be encouraged to reject a sellout contract and organize an effective strike which would discredit and undermine their positions

There is one all-important lesson for longshoremen to learn from the coal miners strike. It isn't enough just to courageously carry out effective local strike action. When the leadership have proved themselves openly as traitors to the workers' needs, it's disastrous to leave them leadership in control. The miners should have convened an emergency convention to elect a new negotiating committee answerable to the rank and file. In 1978 we will be faced with the same choice: keep on rejecting bad contracts until we go down to defeat or recall the Caucus and elect new Caucus delegates on a program to win our needed contract demands.

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Coast Caucus Program: No Strike, No Jobs

Negotiations for a longshore contract started May 8 with the issues of job security and a union capable of protecting its members threatened by a Negotiating Committee with no demands designated by the Caucus as strike issues, and dominated by the International. Of fifteen men on the Negotiating Committee, President Herman demanded and got six International Officers and Coast Committeemen. The four big longshore locals with more than half of the waterfront workforce got only four men on the Committee; the remaining five spots were parceled out to the small longshore and clerks locals. This means that the International needs only two votes besides its own to push through any scheme it wants.

Union Demand: Money--Not Jobs

Instead of a fight for more jobs centered around a shorter work shift with no cut in pay, the Caucus adopted the Officers' Report demand for a beefed-up PGP as the "cornerstone of our job security program." Seattle Local 19 dropped their resolution for a 6 hour shift at 8 hours pay and the San Francisco delegates put up a half-hearted and easily defeated resolution for a 7 hour shift (presumably at 7 hours pay). The demands for increases in wages, holidays, vacations, welfare, pensions and a cost-of-living adjustment are overdue and needed just to catch up with inflation. But Herman and McClain will doubtless settle for a COLA similar to the phony the warehousemen got in '76 which provided no coverage in the first year with a 25¢ cap in the second and third. In any case, these money items are no substitute for jobs. The Negotiating Committee will probably trade off or scale down the only job security demand passed by the Caucus, for non-skilled minimum manning scales on Crane operations. Even this demand compares unfavorably with the ILA North Atlantic contract which calls for 20 men per crane on container operations.

Delegate after delegate got up and described the continuing threat to our jobs through fully automated container operations, the log grappler, and computers replacing clerks. President Herman's answer: lower the retirement age and accept a smaller, weaker waterfront union.

Container Royalty Tax--One More Gimmick

Ever since 1968 the International has tried to cover up the M&M sellout of our jobs, hoping to distract attention away from the demand for a shorter work shift by peddling a series of gimmicks supposed to "bring container stripping and stuffing back to the waterfront." The 1969 CFS Supplement, the 1971 50-mile radius on container jurisdiction, and the PGP were all sold to the membership as ways to somehow magically compensate for loss of jobs through mechanization. Even the Coast Committee admitted that the vast majority of containers crossing the docks are manufacturers' or shippers' loads which are stripped or stuffed hundreds or even thousands of miles from the docks.

Now we have a Container Royalty Tax as the answer, but the real question is what happens to the royalty dollars levied on each container? Most of the money will be simply handed by the union back to the PMA to pay for the fringe benefits in the contract! The PMA will then pass the cost of the tax on to their customers by raising their shipping rates. Herman's argument is that by helping the PMA increase their profits, somehow they can be "competitive" with non-union Freight Forwarders and Freight Consolidators. Instead of trying to "compete" with non-union employers our union should embark on a joint campaign with the Teamsters union to organize these run-away operations in California, Nevada and Utah. ILWU Warehouse Local 6 should be in the forefront of such an organizing drive. But at the recent Local 6 Convention Herman spent his time attacking union militants who were proposing a strategy for organizing run-aways and non-union shops.

(continued page 2)

Arbitration and the Right To Strike

Our experience over the last three years has proved once again that without the right to take job action free of arbitrators' interference the employers will openly violate the contract and harass us. Instead of moving to take the "work as directed" and arbitration sections out of the contract, the Caucus adopted as a demand herb Mills' proposal for standing-by on contract violations while leaving the final decision up to the Arbitrator. The Seattle leadership waged no fight on this point, even though their local voted to eliminate arbitration entirely, thus proving that they're as willing as the Local 10 leadership to compromise the members' vital interests. With the Arbitrators' powers left intact we can expect even more cuts in boards and changes in our dispatch system under the pretext of "PGP Abuse."

Enforced arbitration on all beefs and the surrender of job action was one of the concessions Bridges made to the PMA in 1960 in return for the M&M payoff to old-timers. Brother Mills, however, tried to exonerate the leadership from the betrayals of the past. herman stated that: "We will not operate from the premise that the leadership did a shabby job before we got here--we won't sit here and proceed to destroy ourselves with criticism." Brother Mills supported this defense with an attack on the Longshore Militant as follows:

> "Jimmy Herman is rightfully pissed off at people detecting mistakes by hindsight. Hindsight should be introduced in a brotherly fashion and with humility. It is shameless to look back, detect a mistake, and then assign disloyalty to the rank and file to those who made mistakes."

We would like to remind Brother Mills that those who refuse to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.

Mills: Herman's "Honest" Cover Man

Evidently, Brother Mills agrees with the Longshore Militant that there were "mistakes" made. If so, why doesn't he say what they were and offer a strategy to correct them? We can agree that, at times, if the balance of forces are unfavorable, the union must compromise to live and fight again another day. But Mills isn't even saying the union made some unfortunate compromises or "mistakes" which now must be reversed. He's covering for Herman to go ahead with Bridges' giveaways just as he covered for the International on Supplement III and on the "rowboat" retreat during the ILA strike. Recently, Harry Bridges, now safely retired, at least had the honesty to call his M&M giveaway by its real name, class collaboration. The "mistakes" of Mills and Co. are not accidental, but flow from their program of subordinating the needs of the workers to the interests and profits of the PMA bosses.

Bowing to the the companies' "right" to profits Mills and the rest of the Local leadership have no intention of consistently fighting PMA to stop the criminally unsafe working conditions that are all too prevalent on the front. After the death of Brother Gerald Choy at Pier 30-32, we put up a motion which was adopted by the Executive Board and membership to get the PMA to install steel guard rails higher than the driver's head on both front and back of all Ross Carriers. What happened? No guard rails and no deadline for PMA from the officials.

While the Local leadership is prepared to leave job conditions in the hands of Arbitrators, Friday night, May 5 the membership showed how the right to strike can be used. When men showed up at work they were enraged to see non-longshoremen driving autos from the dock at Berth 10 to almost under the hook at Sea-Land. The men physically stopped the operation, refused to turn to, and forced Crescent to hold over the ship until the following day, when it was worked at another pier without our job jurisdiction being violated.

Steady Men--Not A Strike Issue?

In opposition to the International Officers and reflecting enormous rank-and-file pressure, the Caucus demanded the abolition of 9.43 and Crane Supplement steady men from the contract. (The demand for PMA skills training for all men who want it wasn't even put on the floor by our delegates.) But by refusing to make 9.43 and Crane Supplement a non-negotiable item and a strike issue, as Local 10 voted almost unanimously at the membership meeting, the Caucus clearly gave Herman the leeway he wants to compromise this issue by making some cosmetic changes in the contract.

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Mills argued the PMA "won't take a strike on steady men." Who does he think he's kidding? PMA "took" a four-month strike in '71 to firmly establish the giveaways including 9.43 which Bridges agreed to in the M&M contracts. 9.43 and Crane Supplement have been key in the PMA's drive to destroy the union hiring hall, divide the workforce and pave the way for layoffs. They're going to give that up without a strike?!

Can we depend on our own delegates to cut the steady man cancer out of the contract? NO! They all showed how unserious they are by voting against our motion in the last Executive Board meeting to adopt a policy to call 9.43 and Crane Supplement men back to the hall some time during negotiations, to coordinate this action with Seattle and Los Angeles and to call an early stop-work meeting to involve the membership in carrying out the recall action. Our purpose was to prevent Herman from engineering a sellout or compromise on steady men. Even Brother Leo Robinson--who several months ago made a similar motion--argued that our motion was "untimely". Maybe Leo wants to wait until the Negotiating Committee drops the demand before action on steady men is "timely".

Herman's Strategy--No Strike, "Responsible Collective Bargaining"

There is a national trend for employers to insure their profits by making demands on unions that represent a "taking back" of union conditions and gains. The most recent example is the coal operators and owners who forced a 103-day coal miners strike to undermine conditions that miners had won over thirty years ago. We can't predict whether the PMA will try a "roll-back" or "take-away" but it's damned certain that it will take a hard-fought, well-run strike to get what we need. Has the Local or International been preparing the membership for a fight? HELL NO, just the opposite! For months Herman has been making statements to the press that he doesn't think a strike is necessary or likely. During the Coast Caucus the SF Examiner quoted President Herman as saying that the joint press conference with President Gleason of the ILA was "...called to squelch talk about a waterfront strike." Since Jimmy didn't rush into print to deny this quote we can assume it's accurate and that he really meant to reassure the PMA not to expect a serious fight this year. To further prove the point, and to demoralize the ILWU as our contract deadline approaches, the entire International leadership mobilized at the April 8 Local 6 Convention to prevent the spread of "miners' fever" and to squash an attempt by the Militant Caucus to rally warehousemen in our defense. President Herman delivered a 30-minute tirade against the Militant Caucus to try to cover up his sabotage of the call for a solid ILWU strike in support of the coal miners and against Taft-Hartley. Local 6 General Executive Board member Bob Mandel blasted the International for "sabotaging what could have been the most important labor solidarity action in thirty years, could have put Taft-Hartley in the ground once and for all and would have made the conditions for a longshore strike for jobs far more favorable."

At that point an officially sponsored goon squad surrounded and interrupted Brother Mandel. When many Local 6 members and delegates rushed to his defense, International Secretary/Treasurer McClain was forced to order the goons back into their seats.

But later when a Militant Caucus motion hit the floor calling on warehousemen not to handle any scab cargo during a longshore strike, mobilize to beef up our picket lines if necessary, and to strike in solidarity with longshoremen if Carter issues a Taft-Hartley injunction, McClain took the mike to demand of the delegates: "If you don't defeat anything else today, you must vote this down!" And down it went! By taking this action the International Officers proved that they are indeed the Arnold Millers of the waterfront.

At the Caucus, Herman opened up his big guns to defeat the Local 10 resolution for a common contract expiration date with the ILA in 1981 when even President Gleason of the ILA came out for it!

Not one International Officer or delegate mentioned that the West Coast seamen's unions contracts are expiring June 15, nor called for a joint maritime fight for jobs--which is how the ILWU has made the greatest gains in the past.

President Herman has already signaled to the PMA that he is caught between his fear of the rank-and-file willingness to go to the mat with the PMA for job security on the one hand and probable government strikebreaking on the other. He's letting the employers know ahead of time that he will do anytiing to avoid a strike.

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Local 10 Officers and Delegates--Unity With Herman

Not one Local 10 Caucus delegate challenged Herman's gutless posture. They cooperated in the Local Officers' refusal to call a stop-work meeting to formulate contract demands and prepare the membership for a fight. In their report to the last meeting our delegates praised the "unity" among themselves for this no-win strategy and supported Larry Wing's refusal to allow any discussion from the floor on their Caucus report, limiting the membership to "questions."

Herb Mills especially praised the International Officers' "aggressive and comprehensive report--a new spirit of determination to cooper up serious problems." Not one Caucus delegate warned the membership that a strike run from the top like the 1971-72 strike is a sure loser. Mills reassured us that the Negotiating Committee (with two more International Officers than in '71) is "a good Committee". In response to our question whether any contract demand was made a strike issue, Leo Robinson argued that you have to give the Negotiating Committee a free hand to first see what the PMA is willing to give us and then present the package to the membership for acceptance or rejection. This is the same strategy Bridges followed in 1975 when he ignored the membership's twice rejecting the PMA's contract offer, until the membership, seeing no leadership with the backbone to wage a successful strike, finally voted up a contract it didn't want.

How To Win

So what can we do to avoid another bad contract? First we should move now to elect a rank-and-file strike committee with representatives from all gangs and dispatch boards day and night, seeking to link this local strike committee up with similar rank-and-file strike committees from other locals. Then we should demand that Herman open negotiations to rank-and-file union members, including specific delegates from the local strike committees. With the membership so organized, when the leadership starts retreating we will not be put in the position of the miners during their recent strike but will have a structure ready to perform the necessary tasks of electing a new Negotiating Committee and coordinating the strike.

And make no mistake about it--Herman & Co. will retreat, even from the Caucus' inadequate demands. They backed down from real support to both the East Coast longshoremen and the coal miners. Relying on Herman and his loyal supporters in our Local is a sure recipe for further steady loss of longshore jobs leading to layoffs and a union top-heavy with steady men at the mercy of the PMA.

It is urgent that all union militants join with us in the fight to organize the membership for a strike. If union-conscious brothers don't assert themselves now, then we will be painted into a corner as we were in 1975, or, like the miners, or like 1971, militant strike efforts will be robbed of their impact by a treacherous pro-company Negotiating Committee. If militants intervene in advance, then the groundwork can be laid for a successful strike in July to win job security for all longshoremen.

PROTEST THE ESMERALDA! DON'T HANDLE CHILEAN CARGO!

The Chilean junta's torture ship Esmeralda will be docking at Treasure Island starting May 16 to help "celebrate" Armed Forces Week. The U.S. government's invitation to the Esmeralda shows again the vicious anti-working class nature of Carter's "human rights" campaign and is a provocation aimed at the U.S. labor movement. The ship's presence must be met with massive protests and demonstrations of labor solidarity with the Chilean workers.

The ILWU International has been on record for over three years for a boycott of Chilean cargo. The time to implement it is now! Should any cargo for the Esmeralda pass through civilian hands, the ILWU and all maritime and transport unions must refuse to move it.

To give real teeth to the action, for the duration of the Esmeralda's stay on the West Coast, the ILWU must refuse to handle any Chilean cargo at all. The Rio Abaucan is scheduled to leave Pier 27 on the 18th with Chilean cargo while the Prudential Lines' Santa Mercedes is scheduled to leave Pier 30 the same day. Longshoremen coastwise should refuse to work both ships!

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ANOTHER BIG LIE! VOTE NO! STRIKE!

Brothers:

Herman's "Supplemental Clarification" is a fraud. Don't be fooled. Read it carefully.

1. HERMAN'S CLAIM: Steady men who didn't originally come from the Skill Boards will go back to the hold and dock board.

> THE TRUTH: All present steady men will be "grandfathered-in" and will rotate on the Special Equipment Board as soon as it is set up--and only after the contract's approved.

2. HERMAN'S SUGGESTION: All tractor, hustler, Ross Carrier, Bull-dozer, Payloader, Taylor lift, Vacuum lift, Hatchtender, etc. jobs will be ordered from the lift and winch boards.

> THE TRUTH: These jobs will be ordered from the Skill Boards as they are now only when the Company doesn't have enough steady men to cover them.
>
> A. Men working their 30 days as steady men can still be assigned to cover any and all of these jobs.
>
> B. Men ordered from the steady Special Equipment Board as crane or straddle drivers can be assigned to perform Ross, Taylor and all of those jobs mentioned above during their shift. The Arbitrator will certainly rule that way under Sec. III (A)f--"men working out of the dispatch hall..." (Special Equipment Operators) "...must accept dispatch to operate special equipment for which they have been trained."

Steady men will still get first crack at all skill jobs except winches, cranes and lifts on the ship and the few 5-ton lifts on the dock. Nothing is changed. Steady men will still be doubled in number, will have their own board in the hall and will still be bounced from job to job.

The contract still has 3 different formulas for the major ports, critically undermining coast-wide unity. There is still no job security: no new manning scales, nor a shorter work shift at no loss in pay. The inadequate PGP with its vicious Sec. 20 abuse rules remains unchanged. Supplement III with its layoff provision remains in the contract. There is no right to strike--our jobs and conditions remain in the Arbitrator's hands. And there is no COLA to protect us from inflation.

This last desperate, flimsy attempt to trick the membership into voting up this rotten contract was worked out yesterday with the cooperation of Brothers Herb Mills and Willie Zenn. Their action is particularly treacherous coming when opposition to the contract is growing coastwise. In San Francisco and Los Angeles, Herman and pro-contract local "leaders" were nearly booed off the stage. Strike sentiment is growing in both ports. In Seattle, despite a 3-2 pro-contract recommendation by their Caucus delegates, the Local 19 Executive Board voted 15-6 to reject it.

VOTE NO! PREPARE TO STRIKE FOR JOBS! ELECT STRIKE COMMITTEES! RECALL THE CAUCUS! DUMP THE NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE! ELECT NEW DELEGATES COMMITTED TO FIGHTING FOR OUR JOBS AND WORKING CONDITIONS!

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"New" Leaders Set Up Longshoremen For Contract Defeat

Needed: A Class-Struggle Leadership

President Herman's three-year, status-quo, no-jobs contract does not mean that PMA has won the war or even secured three years of "labor peace" in which to continue Flynn's strategy to render the union impotent. But PMA does have the contractual weapon to continue reducing our jobs through speed-up and mechanization, bringing the employers closer to their aim of converting the Longshore Division from a powerful industrial union to a small, weak craft union.

What have we got? We have no shorter work shift or manning scales to preserve jobs and no cost of living to maintain wages. We have no right to strike or take job action to defend the union. We predicted that Herman would use the ranks' anger over the union-busting steady men section to further extend the system and undermine the hiring hall. PMA will now have double the number of steady skill jobs out of union control. Section 20 (PGP Abuses) is still in the contract giving the Area Arbitrator a free hand to cut gangs and boards, take control of the hiring hall, eliminate jobs, and drive disabled and older men out of the industry.

There was nothing inevitable about this latest defeat in an unbroken string of retreats and defeats for our union over the past eighteen years. The massive number of contract demands submitted by locals and the frantic rhetoric of local leaders trying to sound militant reflected great rank and file pressure for jobs and the restoration of union control of the hiring hall and freedom from Arbitrators. The final 69% yes vote for the contract did not represent a conviction by the ranks that this was a "good contract", but was the end result of incompetent, gutless misleadership from top to bottom of the union.

Just to hit the highlights: the April Longshore Caucus failed to put together a program of key demands that would have united the large locals, small locals and clerks. By dropping the demands for 6 hours work for 8 hours pay and the elimination of Arbitrators, and by concentrating on one issue, steady men, the delegates from Locals 10, 13 and 19 insured that Herman could intimidate the clerks and small locals into accepting his abject surrender to PMA.

By refusing to designate any contract demands as non-negotiable strike issues, our delegates gave Herman a blank check which they knew he would fill as he saw fit. By leaving negotiations completely in Herman's control, the Caucus delegates gave PMA plenty of time to stockpile cargo, make massive preparations for a strike, and even extend the contract past July 1.

Why The Big Yes Vote?

Did the ranks vote this contract up because they were convinced it protects their jobs and their union? Absolutely not! We can't remember a less popular contract since the second M & M giveaway barely squeaked through in 1966. We can take pride in our members' desperate courage in voting down this contract in spite of San Francisco longshoremen receiving the harshest blows from PMA over the past years. The key question that must be answered now is why Seattle and Los Angeles and almost one-half of San Francisco voted for the contract.

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Does the fact that L.A. Caucus delegates recommended 7 to 3 against the contract while Local 13 voted yes by a bare majority mean that their membership has less courage or understanding than the local leadership? Not at all! The L.A. membership saw through their own local leaders' gutless rhetoric about sending the Negotiating Committee back to beg for more. They understood that to get what we need it was necessary to wage a hard, effective strike. They knew that Herman, Rubio and Co. would conduct at best another disastrous re-run of 1971-72. They recognized that their own local leadership including even the left-talking Dave Arian would not and could not initiate a move to replace Herman's clique with a strike leadership that could conduct a winning strike. They needed only to look at their own local leadership's acquiescence to Herman's retreat before court injunctions in the aid to the ILA strike and his sabotage of the 24-hour sympathy strike in support of the coal miners fight against Carter's Taft-Hartley strikebreaking to realize that the leadership to win was also not there in Local 13. Lacking even the nucleus of an alternative leadership to wage a winning strike, Los Angeles voted yes but by a bare majority.

In San Francisco the officers' and Caucus Delegates' sabotage of all motions to call back steady men and our motion urging no contract-no work July 1 convinced the membership likewise that their own local leadership feared a strike more than they feared this bad contract. When Herman warned that President Carter's administration was threatening intervention into contract negotiations, not a single one of these "leaders" called for mobilizing labor support to defeat government strikebreaking. When Herman told Local 10 members that a strike was a suicide course and certain disaster, our officers ducked the chance to challenge this no-win philosophy and simply said "go back into negotiations."

Needed--Not Gutless "Lesser Evils" But A Class Struggle Leadership

Why do these guys act the way they do? Why this gutless stance? Why don't they tell the membership the truth and organize the ranks to fight? Why is it that the majority of the San Francisco, L.A. and Seattle officers and delegates who staked their "political careers" opposing Bridges' sell-out collaboration with the PMA policies folded so badly in this contract fight? The answer is simple but the truth is resisted by many brothers: there are no more "lesser evils". A leadership committed to the capitalist status quo can't even defend the simple economic and trade union rights of workers. Leaders who accept the right of the employers to make a profit out of our sweat won't fight for jobs. Officers who accept the employers' demands for "labor peace" as the price for wages won't fight to eliminate arbitrators. Delegates who accept the right of the employers' government to break strikes through injunctions, Taft-Hartley and special compulsory arbitration laws won't call for organizing massive labor support to defeat government strikebreaking.

Only a leadership committed to workers' independence from the capitalist state and union reliance on the mutual strength and support of labor by calling for the widest support from maritime and transportation workers to support each other's strikes can lead us to victory over PMA.

This November we will again witness the repulsive spectacle of our International and Local officers sucking up to the Democrats, hoping for a few crumbs thrown our way. Now is the time to reverse this no-win political strategy and call for support only to independent labor candidates committed to fighting for the workers' interests.

For over three years now we have warned that we can defend our jobs and our union effectively only if we develop an independent class-struggle movement in the union which can offer an alternative leadership. In the months ahead when PMA moves to double steady men, freeze disabled men out of their jobs, cut gangs and boards, further cut manning on jobs, and probably raise the demand for layoffs, the need for such an alternative leadership will become more apparent and acute.

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New PMA Attack On Disabled and Older Men: Officers Surrender

The employers have begun another attack on the older and disabled longshoremen. Previously PMA had moved to cut the Dock Preference Board and Dock Boards way back thereby forcing partially and temporarily disabled men onto the Hold Board. Then on September 26, 5 days after the membership ordered the Chief Dispatcher to restore all Volunteer dispatch categories, PMA moved in Labor Relations to eliminate all Volunteer jobs on the Hold, Dock and Skill Boards making every hall job a flop job!

At the same time fully half of the first group of skilled men given physical examinations for the Special Equipment Board were turned down by the employers as physically unfit for training.

Instead of informing the membership and organizing resistance to this attack, the Officers and Executive Board are in full retreat ready to agree to "compromises" that jeopardize the livelihood of every longshoreman. On Oct. 12 the Executive Board voted (with only 2 NO votes--Gow and Keylor) to support the Officers' recommendation to eliminate virtually all Volunteer dispatch categories. The Officers are agreeing to proceed with the setting up of the Special Equipment Board leaving PMA as the sole judge of a longshoreman's physical eligibility for training.

New Danger--"Medical" Deregistrations

For a long time now it's been obvious that PMA is trying to drive older and disabled men off the waterfront, making the Steady Men the core of the longshore workforce. They are moving to seize complete control of the hiring hall from the union--a major gain won in '34 that was the basis of the union's ability to maintain job conditions and protect the individual longshoreman's job rights. Again Local 10 has been the main target with: the Arbitrator's cuts in Dock Preference; refusal of PMA to assign jobs to this board; and the proposed "buy out" of disabled men in the 1978 contract. Prior to March 1974 the union had virtual control over the Skill Boards. Even PMA-financed training programs didn't require a prior physical examination. The sole criterion for a skilled man was the ability to handle the job. Then on March 8, 1974 the union side of the Coast Committee gave PMA the right to demand physical examinations for men receiving training. What's going to happen to these men on the Skill Board who "failed" the physical for the Special Equipment Board? Will PMA say that these men aren't physically qualified to operate equipment and move to throw them back on the Dock and Hold Boards? Is this a pilot project by PMA to see if they can get rid of men for "medical reasons" that they can't as easily get rid of by the lousy contract? In 1966 men who had worked steadily as casual longshoremen in the Port of Stockton for up to 13 years applied for Class B resistration. When they took the physical exam PMA said those who "failed" it could never again work as longshoremen, not even as casuals!

Union Control of the Hiring Hall Equals Job Protection

Longshoring has always been a man-killing job. Men working on the waterfront acquire bad backs, trick knees, crippled feet, mutilated hands and a whole variety of physical handicaps. In spite of this the union's control of the

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dispatch hall historically made it possible for all but the totally crippled man to continue working until he retired. Before the skill jobs were eaten up by 9.43, an older man could at least look forward to getting on a Skill Board; now only the highest seniority man has a chance. In addition the union issued temporary exemptions to partially or temporarily disabled men so that a longshoreman who was unable to accept a certain job wouldn't flop or lose work opportunity. The 1975 contract "PGP Abuse" section was used by PMA to take away from the local this power to protect its members.

No serious attempt to eliminate from the contract this "PGP Abuse" section was made by our Officers and Caucus Delegates during the last contract fight. By going along with the International Officers' position that PGP is the "cornerstone of job security" instead of fighting for jobs, our local leaders have put us in a position where they can blame the men for San Francisco's alleged "abuse" of PGP.

Special Equipment Board--Steady Man Or Voluntary Hall Category?

Although some of our Officers put up a token resistance to the Special Equipment Board part of the contract, they have since been encouraging men to sign up and "take the training." Meanwhile they have been ducking a confrontation with PMA on whether men on this Board will be compelled to rotate every other month as steady men and whether men dispatched off this Board for one type of skill will have to jump from Stacker to Crane to Side Picker to fill out their 8 hours. Our officials should have refused to cooperate with the setting up of this Board unless PMA agreed to one man--one job, a man's right not to "go steady" and elimination of the physical exams.

Officers Duck Job Issues--Keep Membership in the Dark

Our Local Officers have continued to keep the membership in the dark over these attacks on our jobs. Instead of informing the membership and devising a strategy of resistance, the Officers and Executive Board have spent most of their time trying to patch up the Rotary Dispatch rules, get more dues money, and arguing about secondary issues such as how Walking Bosses are hired. Whenever the membership in the past has threatened job action to protect our jobs such as on the "200 Hours Test Formula" and the attempted deregistration of men under 8.35 (holding 2 jobs) the PMA has backed off.

The Local desperately needs a leadership that can mobilize and unite the membership to resist men being driven out of the industry and lay the basis for a real contract fight for jobs through manning scales, training, and a shorter work shift. Our Officers consider the work of the Arbitrator and the Coast Committee sacred. In a phony show of militancy they threaten job action over the issue of selection of Walking Bosses, but they shrink from using any tactics of non-cooperation or confrontation with PMA, insisting that men will not jeopardize the PGP.

San Francisco voted down the last contract showing a willingness to fight for jobs and against 9.43. Unlike our Officers, we think that longshoremen will fight to protect older and disabled men and for defense of the hiring hall.

We will try at tonight's meeting to get these issues on the floor for debate and action. Stop the Officers' abject defeatism! Keep Volunteer job categories! No physical exams for training! Tell PMA: No man on Special Equipment Board forced to go steady!

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Break With Strikebreaking Democrats!

Build A Workers Party

Brothers,

We in the ILWU are coming into this general election period after a series of defeats suffered by the Warehouse Division, especially Local 6, in the 1976 organizing strikes and the Master Contract strike, and our own no-strike contract defeat of the summer of this year, a contract we were made to eat in spite of Local 10's 'NO' vote. The major factor in all this was the International and Local leaderships' support of the Democratic Party and phony "friend of labor" capitalist politicians, preaching reliance on these "allies", when it should have been mobilizing the membership to fight its necessary battles. The warehouse leadership crawled before Moscone and the Berkeley City Council seeking to use its "influence", while the police escorted scabs through the union's lines, beating and arresting pickets. In 1978, in a similar defeatist stance, without a strike vote, and advertising in advance that there'd be no strike, the International "leadership" helped set up Local 10 and the Longshore Division for our present job-slashing situation. And, even as this is written, the Teamsters' grocery warehouse workers are going through the fourth month of strikebreaking pounding with scab-herding and arrests being carried out by the police and the largely Democratic Party city and county leaderships in Alameda, Contra Costa and San Francisco counties.

This position we're in didn't happen just by chance. The ILWU leadership and the U.S. labor bureaucrats from Miller of the UMW to Fraser of the UAW to Fitzsimmons of the IBT, have a common policy--class collaboration. Their real job, to which they devote full time, is to discipline the rank-and-file to prevent outbreaks of militancy.

Regularly, election after election, these misleaders endorse Democrats, for the ostensible purpose of holding back the "greater evil" Republicans or far right wing. And just as regularly, the pro-capitalist politicians they put in office with the votes they muster thank them by administering attacks against the working class locally and around the world. For typical candidates, we have: LBJ--Murderer of Vietnam, the 1964 "peace" candidate, who said of a bombed-out Vietnamese village: "We had to destroy it in order to save it"; and whose electoral opponent, Barry Goldwater, congratulated Johnson for a foreign policy he'd have carried out himself. Then there was Joe Alioto, who started his famous career by unleashing the infamous "Tac" squad on anti-Vietnam war demonstrators at the Fairmont Hotel on Nob Hill in '68, whose mid-career as S.F. mayor was highlighted by the stop-and-frisk "Operation Zebra" against S.F.'s black population and whose parting shot was his Declaration of Emergency when he rewarded his police friends who executed "Operation Zebra" with a salary raise to end their reactionary "strike". Alioto was then followed by city worker strikebreaker Moscone, whose reward to his former supporters among the city worker union leaders was to jail them. During the Nixon/Ford administrations the big push was for a "veto-proof" Democratic Congress. And it was the mobilization of the political machines of the major unions that put the strikebreaker Carter in office. These fakers were supported by the ILWU and other unions.

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The "friend of labor" politicians the labor bureaucrats support profess their concern for the working people during elections, but in crucial periods like major strikes, they do essentially the same things as the open labor-haters would have done. For example, there is Carter's use of the Taft-Hartley law against the miners; the injunctions, firings and fines levied by his administration to break any strike attempt by postal workers. And recently, Carter announced the imposition of "voluntary" wage guidelines, designed to make working people pay the costs of the capitalist economic crisis. When our negotiations were going on, Carter's hirelings in the Federal Government let it be known they'd keep the Mexican and Canadian borders open to the flow of diverted cargo, in that way helping the shipowners--with the collaboration of Herman, Rubio & Co.--to force the new job-cutting contract on us. These strikebreaking actions are not exceptions, they are the rule! The Democrats and Republicans are the bosses' parties and therefore enemies of labor.

Instead of accepting the program of the labor bureaucrat engineers of defeat, we have to be prepared to give all-out support to the upcoming ILWU-IBT Warehouse Alliance contract battle in '79. If the Warehouse Division strikes, which is the only way they'll make any real gains, we should help them with real mass picketing. A militant union leadership would seize that opportunity to throw out this miserable contract longshoremen have and go out with them for what we all need. Struggle policies like this are what Gow and Keylor will advocate as ILWU International Convention Delegates. The Convention should be a battle to establish class-struggle policies--not just a drinking spree.

On the political front, despite majority Democratic Congresses, there is not even rhetoric any more about repeal of the Taft-Hartley law or Section 14-B against organizing. The Democrat-run Congress of '78 even defeated the "Labor Reform Act", the labor leadership's token reform program.

Some indicators of a general right turn in capitalist politics are the heating up of the cold war with Carter's anti-communist "human rights" campaign; attacks on the democratic rights of women by opposition to the ERA and abortion funding; and attacks on the democratic rights of homosexuals from Anita Bryant in Florida to Briggs' Proposition 6 in California. Proposition 6 is a simultaneous attack on the rights of homosexuals, teachers and trade unions. Proposition 7 would increase the severity of an already harsh death penalty law in California, which would fall, as traditionally, hardest on blacks, Latinos and the poor in general. The Bakke decision of the Supreme Court, which leads to cutbacks in minority admissions programs in colleges, came from a suit which was from its inception, racist, attacking only special minority admissions programs in its legal briefs and omitting mention of the well-known "favorite-son" practice of accepting relatives of rich alumni and medical school administrators without regard to entrance exam grades. Busing has been under attack by racist mobs led by the KKK and the Nazis, and all the government is concerned with is maintaining "civil liberties" for these terrorist scum with police protection. Another aspect of the government's racism is the divisive use of phony "Affirmative Action" schemes which permit rewriting of union contracts, attack the union hiring hall and undermine the seniority system while pitting workers against each other along racial and sexual lines for decreasing jobs--the very condition that the capitalist government's anti-labor, cost-cutting drives has helped create.

Meanwhile, the candidates offered at the state level in California reflect the rightward turn in capitalist politics. Jerry Brown's "small is better" job-slashing and wage-freezing with attempts to cut back on state jobs is an attack on the working class and the unemployed in a state with already high-level unemployment and soaring living costs. The "macho" law and order posture of Younger and his me-tooism on the welfare question is just more of the same.

For Attorney-General (Top-Cop) candidates, we have Yvonne Burke--a supposedly liberal "new face"--and the openly conservative George Deukmejian. Burke, who is being touted actively by some Local 10 politicians like Leo Robinson, is merely a cover for the basically rightward, anti-labor policies of Brown, Moscone & Co. This is why we opposed any Local 10 endorsement of Burke, both when it was pushed through the Executive Board by the Officers and when it came up for a vote at the last membership meeting. Nearly a third of the membership present voted no to endorsing Burke.

(continued page 3)

In a comparison of political positions run in the Oct. 26 Examiner, it's clear that the pledges of Burke and Deukmejian are just variations on the law and order theme, the code phrase for anti-minority and anti-working class attacks. Deukmejian says he is for Prop. 7, while Burke says she is against, BUT would defend its constitutionality if adopted by the voters, a really "liberal" position in light of the original Supreme Court decision throwing out the death penalty in general as cruel and unusual punishment. Deukmejian is endorsed by the California Peace Officers' Association and Burke is endorsed by San Francisco D.A. Freitas, S.F. Sheriff Eugene Brown and ex-S.F. Police Chief Al Nelder. NONE OF THEM DESERVE YOUR VOTE!

The Longshore Militant in Local 10 and the Militant Caucus of both Locals 6 and 10 are the only groups in the ILWU which have consistently fought to get the union out of its enemies' parties, the Democrats and Republicans. Instead, we call for independent labor struggle by building a workers party based on the unions to fight for the interests of the working class and all the oppressed of society. The history of the labor movement shows that staying tied to the twin parties of capitalism is a no-win situation for labor. A real leadership in the ILWU would have run labor candidates on a class-struggle program of complete independence from the bosses' parties, government and courts in this fall's elections to give workers a real class choice.

Although the present labor bureaucracy will occasionally talk about forming a "labor party", as UAW President Doug Fraser did in a speech recently, and as George Meany blustered about in 1972 (because of his reactionary support to the Vietnam war), they are tied by their program of class-collaboration to the establishment politicians and have endorsed Brown and his fellow Democrats even after his slashing attack on public employees' wages, using Proposition 13 as a pretext.

These fakers must be dumped and replaced by a leadership which is committed to building a workers party based on the unions to lead the working class in the fight to take state power and establish a workers government. This government would put an end to the cycle of unemployment, racism and war inherent in the profit system by seizing the banks and major industry without compensation to their capitalist owners to establish a planned economy.

Understanding that the working class must be united in order to throw the capitalists out, a workers party would lead struggles in behalf of all the exploited. It would not limit itself to electoral campaigns but would organize the social power of the working class in mass actions to wrest from the capitalists gains for the labor movement and embattled minorities.

During the miners' strike, a workers party would have led sympathy strikes against Carter's use of Taft-Hartley. A workers party would organize union defense guards to put an end to racist mob attacks and Nazi/Klan terror. A workers party would mobilize its trade union base to launch a struggle for jobs for all through a shorter work week at no loss in pay, uniting black and white, native and foreign-born, men and women. In short, a workers party would take an active part in every economic and political struggle of the working class, defending the labor movement from every capitalist attack and leading class struggles to abolish the capitalist system itself. This is the kind of party the Longshore Militant is dedicated to building.

* *

Donations To The Longshore Militant

Since we do all our own work in printing the Longshore Militant, costs are limited to paper, stencils, ink and stamps (we have longshore subscribers all over the coast). Donations of any amount are appreciated. Receipts issued for any donation over 99¢.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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Re-Elect Gow and Keylor To The Executive Board

Protect Our Jobs! DEFEND Protect The Hiring Hall! Protect The Union!

Ever since the defeated and betrayed longshore strike of '71-'72 it's been clear that there are only two paths open to our union: continue to compromise with PMA's attack on our jobs and our union or take the employers on in a hard fight. Most of the membership placed their hopes for an end to the long string of defeats since 1970 on the "anti-Bridges" office seekers Wing, Mills, Kekai, Dulaney, Kaye and Theriault. Longshoremen elected key members of this group to all full-time offices for the contract year of 1978 and gave them effective control of the Executive Board.

A Balance Sheet

Election day this year finds us in even worse shape than January 1978. Mechanization continues to erode our jobs with more longshoremen either working steady or relying on PGP. PMA is waging a continuing attack on union control of the hiring hall zeroing in on the job rights of older and disabled men.

The Wing/Mills clique failed to put together a program of contract demands to force PMA to hire more men on jobs through a shorter work shift with no loss in pay, to abolish the Arbitrators, and to restore the union's ability to defend longshoremen through job action and the right to strike.

These officers even kept the formulation of contract demands and strike strategy out of the hands of the rank and file confining the discussion largely to the Executive Board. When International President Jimmy Herman early in 1978 publicly signaled the PMA that he would do anything to avoid a strike, Wing/Mills & Co. proved their slavish loyalty to the "new" International leadership by remaining silent. When Brother Herman challenged our officers and delegates to tell the membership that even their limited demands for elimination of steady men and partial manning scales could be obtained only through strike action, they took a dive, responding with mealy-mouthed advice to "go back into negotiations." San Francisco longshoremen who were left isolated from the rest of the Coast by our officers' program of exporting poverty through transfers and having no confidence in the leadership's ability to conduct a winning strike nevertheless showed exceptional courage in voting down a contract worse than the last one.

Officers Aid PMA Attacks On Older, Disabled

Now almost six months later the Local faces a series of vicious PMA attacks. Disabled men on the Dock Boards will be forced onto the Hold Board to compete for a declining number of jobs and older men will be compelled to take all jobs in their category or flop. Men trained for the "Special Equipment Board" will be forced to go steady, further undermining the hiring hall and the union.

The response of Wing/Mills and their pals to these PMA attacks is to blame the men and to crawl to the employers with a series of "compromises". Instead of leading the membership to fight PMA, Wing rules "out of order" or "unnecessary" our motions that our jobs are not subject to arbitration and that the Local shall use all means necessary including job action to protect the hiring hall.

These fakers act like business unionists by keeping issues out of membership meetings and preventing open rank-and-file discussion and action. Wing continues the practice pioneered by Cleophas Williams of not allowing discussion on "exceptions"

(over)

Howard Keylor 37-C **Stan Gow 47-B**

taken by members to Executive Board actions. By manipulating the agenda and adjourning meetings early Wing covers up the officers' failures. For example, Wing shut up a number of angry rank-and-filers at the November meeting who simply wanted to know why they couldn't get hold of a Business Agent!

These officers refused to put a stop to chiseling on dispatch and pushed through the Rotary Dispatch scheme which has encouraged men either to hustle seven days a week or lay back on PGP, practices which have further divided the union.

Class Struggle--Not Class Collaboration

Because we operate from a class-struggle position of uncompromising struggle against the employers, Gow and Keylor have furnished the only alternative to the policies of these losers. Leo Robinson and Billy Proctor occasionally talk "militant" but end up going along with the officers when the chips are down and then turn their main attack on the Longshore Militant. The remnants of the old Bridges machine including Mosley, Smith, Lupher, Watkins and Williams join up with their former opponents Wing, Mills, etc. on all key issues in a revolting display of "unity" behind what is really the old Bridges program of giving in to PMA.

Anger and dissatisfaction with the leadership is reflected in the large number of candidates for union office running for the first time, especially '69 men who have the most to lose from the decline in jobs and the weakening of the union. While many of these brothers show an honest concern with the state of the union none of them has yet come forward with a program around which to organize a break with the business unionism of the old leadership cliques. We must speak frankly to these brothers. Getting into union office to try to revitalize the union structure through simply good intentions will not work. Good intentions will fail without taking on the central questions of how to break through the obstacles blocking union action: the contract provisions of arbitration, no job action or strikes; the "PGP Abuse" section; and the huge obstacle to action of the International Officers' open class collaboration.

There Is No "Middle Road"

These brothers must play straight with the rank and file by addressing such life-and-death questions as the following: How can we cope with declining jobs? By the usual share-the-poverty/layoffs/forced retirement? What can we do to prevent the increase of steady men and the erosion of union control of the hiring hall? How can we stop the Arbitrators from determining our job conditions and hiring hall procedures? We have seen many honest union militants who were desperately looking for a non-existent middle ground between business unionism and a hard class-struggle program become demoralized through defeat and give up the attempt or become cynical and decide to go along and take care of number one.

The entire union is in serious trouble with loss of jobs and bolder employer attacks. Our sister Warehouse Local 6 will almost certainly be on strike next June just to protect what they still have. Coming on the heels of the defeat of the Teamster grocery warehouse locals this fall, their employers will be eager to bloody Local 6 even worse than they did in 1976 with mass scab-herding, police attacks on picket lines, and arrest of union pickets and officers. Longshoremen must give full support to Local 6 by joining them on the picket lines and refusing to handle struck or scab goods.

Break With The Capitalist Parties

The program of class collaboration with the bosses of our Local and International officials is expressed on the political level by their slavish support to the bosses parties--the Democrats and Republicans. Despite continuous betrayals and attacks on unions by Democratic politicians, they supported a whole slate of these sleazy, pro-capitalist "friends of labor" last November. Ignoring the beating workers took from ship-owner "Operation Zebra" Joe Alioto our leaders are stumbling over each other to support the new San Francisco mayor Diane Feinstein, who as a supervisor supported the outlawing of city workers' strikes and helped break the 1976 city craft workers' strike which ended in the jailing of union leaders. Workers can defend their jobs and their unions only if they break with all these fakers from the capitalist parties and rely on the strength of the labor movement.

The only real way out for workers is to organize a workers party based on the unions, a party which will fight to establish a workers government, a government which will move to seize all major industry (including shipping) without payment, and which can then end the cycle of unemployment by establishing a planned economy.

VOTE FOR GOW AND KEYLOR--VOTE FOR A CLASS-STRUGGLE PROGRAM.
DUMP THE SELLOUTS--TURN THE ILWU INTO A MILITANT FIGHTING UNION.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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Elect Gow and Keylor To Caucus and Convention Delegate

On February 9, our Local will vote for 10 delegates to the International Convention and Caucus meeting in April in San Diego. All sections of the union are in danger from declining jobs due to mechanization, runaway shops, and employer attacks on working conditions. We are the only candidates for delegate who are calling for an aggressive program to use the whole strength of the International union to defend its members and to protect our flanks through organizing warehouse and C.F.S. workers throughout the West. Make your vote count--vote only for Gow and Keylor--every single one of the other leading candidates has no program or has repeatedly caved in to pressure from the International officers.

The Canadian, Hawaiian Sugar and Northern California Warehouse contract negotiations are taking place in the context of a massive government and employer anti-labor offensive. President Carter's wage guidelines and his strikebreaking attacks on the coalminers, postal workers and railroad workers last year and the defeat of the Teamster grocery distributive workers pose a real danger to all sections of our union. The Longshore Division does not exist in a vacuum. We must mobilize to defend these other embattled sections of our union. If we stand aside, the defeats and takeaways imposed in sugar, warehouse and Canada will be piled up on us in our next contract and will encourage PMA in pressing on with the present series of attacks on longshore locals in Los Angeles, Seattle and San Francisco. PMA's (and Herman's) goal for longshore is a small, weak, craft union with no control over hiring and promotions and no ability to protect men on the job from speed-up and harassment.

Historically the union went inland in the late 1930's, organizing warehousemen and in the mid-40's agricultural workers in Hawaii to protect the exposed flanks of longshoremen. Later under the massive attacks on the union during the McCarthy period, all sections of the union historically depended upon longshore for strength when they were attacked piecemeal. In this period, the massive movement inland of

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The only candidates with the class-struggle program that can unite the ILWU.

Stan Gow	BALLOT NUMBER **17-A**	**Howard Keylor**	BALLOT NUMBER **9-D**

Vote ONLY for GOW and KEYLOR!

employers engaged in stripping and stuffing containers is putting enormous pressure on longshoremen, forcing us back closer to the stringer.

Going into the Convention and Caucus when the strength and ability of the union to defend its members is up for grabs, International President Herman and Secretary-Treasurer McClain are consciously drawing the union inward, hoping for a select, hand-picked body of delegates who will rubberstamp their no-win policies.

Herman is already trying to narrow down debate and participation by moving to eliminate "fraternal delegates" from locals. Consistent with the democratic traditions of the union and to get the widest range of ideas and discussion, locals sent fraternal delegates who have traditionally been allowed speaking rights by the Caucus and Convention. Los Angeles longshore and warehouse locals angrily × protested Herman's actions and appealed to our Local for support of the right of locals to send fraternal delegates subject to the rules of the Convention. Our officers and all Executive Board members (except Gow, Keylor and, on this issue, Robinson) showed their abject loyalty to Herman, by rejecting a motion to support the selection of fraternal delegates. Gow and Keylor will now be prevented from speaking at the Caucus and Convention unless we are elected full delegates.

Herman's proposed Canadian longshore contract (rejected by the Canadian Caucus) continues Bridges' scheme of selling jobs for money and shoring up the steady man system. Article 14 of the proposed contract continues and increases the M&M-type lump sum payment (now $ 16,000) to retiring longshoremen in the face of rapid mechanization of the industry in Canada. The "Letter of Intent" amending Article 8 reinforces the Canadian steady man system with a 4-year "apprenticeship training" program paying only 70-90% of full wages and locking men in to a compulsory 5 years on those steady jobs after training. Does that sound familiar--like the Special Equipment Board? Our last contract widened the wage differentials in the union while forcing men to go steady to get trained. Our program is: Eliminate steady men--make training available to all longshoremen on a volunteer basis.

Warehouse Local 6 Officers Grease The Skids For Employer Takeaways

Acting in complete subservience to the International, Local 6 officers ordered warehousemen to work scab goods during the recent Teamster strike, standing aside to permit IBT grocery warehouse workers to go down in defeat. They are now trying to tie the hands of the Local 6 Warehouse Convention delegates and prevent the adoption of a fighting program of demands and a winning strategy in their June 1 contract battle and setting the local up for a giveaway of conditions.

In a mjaor blow to Local 6 jobs and pension contributions, Thrifty, with 200 union jobs, is dismantling the plant to run away to Sparks, Nev. Wages of $ 4.08/hour there contrast to $ 8.10 here under the Master Contract. Instead of a program to move into Nevada and Utah with a joint ILWU/IBT organizing campaign backed up by longshoremen and over-the-road Teamster truckers, the Local 6 officers appear to be softening up the membership to accept employer pension contributions in the neighborhood of 15¢/hour for new employer signatories to the plan, instead of the standard 70¢/hour.

Employer after employer is imposing absence controls, work production standards, ignoring seniority and eroding Local 6 job jurisdiction, while the Local 6 officers crush or sidetrack every attempt of warehousemen to resist.

What this entire International Union needs and what we will fight for at the Convention and Caucus, is a strategy of using the coast-wide longshore power as part of a successful offensive to defend all sections of the union and for a new "march inland" to organize warehouse and C.F.S. workers. Such an offensive could lay the basis for ripping up the present rotten longshore contract and increasing our bargaining power with a common ILWU/ILA contract expiration in 1980 for a joint fight for jobs.

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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MEMBERSHIP STOPS ATTACK ON GANG MEN AND PLUG MEN

At our last membership meeting May 18--one of the largest in two years--San Francisco longshoremen gave the officers a loud vote of no confidence and won a partial victory against a new wave of PMA attacks on the gang and plug men. Several months ago PMA had won a whole batch of arbitrations allowing them to cut Dock Boards, eliminate volunteer dispatch categories, and force Dock men to take Hold and Lashing jobs. Our officers had put up only token resistance, in most cases supporting PMA demands. President Larry Wing then put on a fake show of resistance by objecting to implementation of these arbitration awards until PMA agreed to open up the Dock Preference Board to old and disabled men.

PMA waited until after the International Convention and Caucus, fearing that a renewed attack might force the issue of "PGP Abuse" attacks on the hiring hall into the Caucus where coastwise resistance could possibly have developed. Did our eleven well-paid delegates from San Francisco try to get support from the Longshore Division to protect the hiring hall, gangs, and older and disabled men? No! Every delegate except Stan Gow took a complete dive. Brother Gow submitted a resolution calling for coastwise resistance to the infamous "PGP Abuse" Section 20 of the contract adopted in 1975 which allows the PMA and the Arbitrator to change the dispatch system over the objection of the union. In a meeting of Local 10 delegates there was an agreement without any objection to support this resolution but when the issue came on the floor, only Stan Gow got up to fight the chairman's fast-shuffle "ruling" that the matter could not be discussed until the 1981 Caucus.

Within a few days after the officers and delegates had taken a dive at the Caucus, PMA demanded that: (1) gang men be made to come to the hall; and (2) that Dock and Hold men could flop any time a casual was dispatched. In a shameful display of cowardice, the Executive Board voted to force gang men to be available in the hall to pick up the leftovers--with only Stan Gow and Howard Keylor voting No. At the membership meeting the officers got behind Bro. Mosley's motion to eliminate the Stop Line on all boards. We saw a vicious attempt to get the gang men and the plug men to fight each other and give PMA control and flexibility over our lives and jobs.

But the PMA/officers' operation backfired when man after man got up to the mike and attacked the officers' cowardly, defeatist, divisive actions and the meeting concluded by an overwhelming NO vote to their "compromise" motions, and within a few days PMA dropped these demands. But then on the following Tuesday and Wednesday, Wing agreed to carry out the arbitration awards eliminating volunteer dispatch categories and forcing disabled and older Dock Board men to take all Hold and Lashing jobs left over or flop! Encouraged by this further capitulation PMA is now insisting on a drastic reduction in the number of men on the Dock Boards, forcing many disabled men onto the Hold Board.

(continued page 2)

CANADIAN LONGSHOREMEN ON STRIKE.....see page 3

"New" Leadership Continues Bridges' Job Giveaways

Longshore Militant has warned now for several years that the "new look" leadership of Wing, Kaye, Mills, Zenn, Theriault, Dulaney, Kekai, etc. would be no better than the previous leadership. They run begging to the International Officers, whom they continue to support for election, to get out of trouble. Then Brothers Herman, Rubio, etc. turn their backs saying: "Handle it down below." When the membership shows a willingness to fight PMA with job action, Wing rules motions out of order and adjourns the meeting to prevent any effective action.

PMA is on a brutal offensive to drive older and disabled men off the waterfront, force 5-7 days' availability, and eliminate jobs by abolishing job and dispatch cetegories. President Wing was finally stung into a "militant"-sounding response in the May 31 Local 10 Bulletin wherein he concludes: "It is time to declare to the employers that from this day on we will not compromise in any way, shape or form the principle of jobs or a weekly pay guarantee." The key phrase in all this rhetoric is: "Jobs or PGP". Therein lies the failure of all International and Local leadership cliques since 1971 when the loss of jobs became catastrophic. During the contract fights of 1975 and 1978 Wing ducked the fight to get a shorter work shift at no reductionin pay and manning scales, both contract measures which would have forced PMA to put more men to work! When the International kept shoving job-slashing contracts at us, Wing and his fellow officers and supporters--to a man--fought against our program that only a tough well-run strike could achieve job security. Wing, Williams and the whole crew placed the entire emphasis on PGP--a buy-off for job attrition that has lost us 4000 members in S.F. alone!

What did Wing and Co. do at the Caucus to defend our remaining jobs? Nothing! When Stan Gow put forward motions calling for the Caucus to mobilize a coastwise push for a non-steady man training program on all equipment, Brother Kekai ridiculed the motions and the remaining delegates sat quiet as mice while the resolution was tabled. When Bro. Gow's resolution came on deck calling for a coastwise campaign to prepare the union to eliminate steady men from the contract in 1981, Local 10 delegates hid in the bushes, allowing the resolution to be "tabled" until 1981!

Not one Local 10 convention delegate other than Gow criticized the International Officers for their failure to defend our jobs. Wing, Zenn, Theriault, etc. kept popping up like jackrabbits obsequiously praising the International Officers for their "cooperation" with the local piecards. When Gow submitted a minority report on current warehouse negotiations, proposing organizing the whole union to support our warehouse brothers and sisters against employer takeaways and government strikebreaking, every other Local 10 delegate signed a statement disassociating themselves from his remarks. Not a single Local 10 delegate got up to support Bro. Gow's criticism of the International Officers' refusal to project a serious organizing drive in off-the-waterfront CFS and warehouses, especially in Nevada and Utah.

Robinson and Arian: Don't Fight, Write Your Congressman

Some longshoremen desperately looking for answers and leadership have been taken in by Bro. Leo Robinson's occasional pseudo-militant rhetoric. Let's take a close look at the role played by Bro. Leo and his frequent collaborator from Los Angeles Local 13, Dave Arian, at the recent Convention in San Diego. Brothers Arian and Robinson both ducked the issue of a union-wide fight for jobs. Instead of calling for a massive trade union fight to smash Taft-Hartley government strikebreaking and union-busting, they pushed a resolution to beg Congress to please repeal Sec. 14-b of the Taft-Hartley law, which allows states to outlaw the union shop. Instead of urging our union to take the lead in demanding contracts providing 40 hours pay for 30 hours work to create jobs, Robinson and Arian held up the vain hope that Carter's strikebreaking Democrats will legislate a shorter work week! Robinson and Arian showed their appetites to curry favor with capitalist politicians by supporting a resolution calling for the government to keep Philippine sugar and pineapple out of the U.S. (let Asian workers starve). Gow demanded Hawaiian plantations be

(continued page 3)

seized without compensation and operated under workers control. Likewise, these two brothers supported a phony "Jobs for Peace" resolution which was self-contradictory and misleading in that it called for maintaining a military machine "sufficient to protect the U.S. and our allies."

Brothers Arian and Robinson have been the most eloquent spokesman at previous Caucuses for the "new concept" of "work or wages." Now that jobs are declining fast and PGP is being used to eliminate jobs and union control of hiring, they garbage around with meaningless proposals to write letters to your congressman. Underlying their whole approach to employer attacks on the working class is the same assumption shared by Wing, Herman and the rest of them: that the labor movement can no longer defend workers with the class-struggle tactics that built the unions but have to beg, kowtow, and depend on the "good will" of the capitalist government.

One year ago Longshore Militant warned that the new contract would accelerate PMA's attacks on our union and our jobs, and that our officers would not defend us. This is clearly what is happening. The hard fact is that S.F. longshoremen cannot live with two more years of this job-slashing contract. A fighting program of union action is the only course that will save our jobs and our union. Wing, Mills and their Democratic Party friends oppose this. We need a new leadership that isn't afraid of a fight and knows who our enemies are--the bosses, their political parties, their government and their cops. A leadership committed to a class-struggle program of using the whole strength of labor. Join with us in the Militant Caucus to begin building that leadership.

****

CANADIAN LONGSHOREMEN ON STRIKE

Tuesday, June 5, ILWU Canadian Area longshoremen walked off the job. Their contract expired Dec. 1978. During the last six months several proposed contracts have been rejected but until Tuesday strike action was strangled by Canadian government interference.

Every contract since 1975 has either been dictated by the Canadian government, limited by "wage controls" or strike action strangled by legislative strikebreaking.

During the 1975 Canadian longshore strike massive amounts of cargo were diverted to ILWU ports in the state of Washington, badly weakening their contract fight. The Canadian Area officers did not appeal to West Coast longshoremen to let the strike-bound cargo sit, they sent no pickets to Bellingham, Everett or Tacoma to get support on the docks, but instead lied to their membership telling them that we had refused to support their strike. Meanwhile Harry Bridges lied to us by denying that the employers were using U.S. ports for an end run around the Canadian strike a few miles away.

This strike is a real opportunity. We can tear up our own contract two years early and shut down the whole West Coast to get what we need.

SUPPORT THE CANADIAN LONGSHORE STRIKE!

REFUSE TO WORK SCAB OR DIVERTED CARGO IN U.S. PORTS!

STRIKE ACTION TO SMASH GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKING!

****

Flash: Monday, C.S. & B. ordered several men from the "Special Equipment Board" to operate Taylor Lifts!

Oppose Carter's Anti-Soviet Boycott

Whereas: International labor boycotts can be an appropriate way to back up the struggles of working people and struggles for social justice the anti-Soviet boycott initiated by Carter and extended by ILA leader Teddy Gleason goes against the interests of working people because:

a) the established Afghanistan government has been implementing reforms for greater social justice against the backward, reactionary, fanatic Islamic priests, landlords and usurers; and

b) the Soviet government is justly assisting the legitimate Afghanistan government, which asked for military aid; and

c) Carter's obvious policy of attempting to starve the Soviet people using food and trade to blackmail the Soviet government, and whipping up anti-communism is designed to shift the anger of American workers from their real enemies- the factory owners, oil companies, and the rest of big business; and

Whereas: American warehousemen, longshoremen, and seamen, as well as the rest of U.S. labor, should not sacrifice our jobs and income for a crazy politician willing to risk nuclear war in his hellbent drive to get re-elected or for the profit-bloated oil companies raking in billions of dollars; and

Whereas: The ILWU had for decades resisted pressure to boycott trade with the USSR but is now supporting the U.S. boycott of Iran, and the International officers have indicated they will boycott Soviet trade if the government so orders; and

Whereas: Draft registration is the first step of the Carter administration to militarize American workers to die in a rich man's war against the USSR or Iran;

Therefore, Be It Resolved; That ILWU Local 6 calls on the International to reverse its position of opposing Soviet aid to the Afghanistan

government; and

Be It Further Resolved: that ILWU Local 6 goes on record opposing the anti-Soviet boycott initiated by Carter and extended by ILA longshore leader Teddy Gleason; the Local pledges it will do everything in its power to stop this boycott; and

Be It Further Resolved: that ILWU Local 6 calls on the International to continue to ship Soviet cargo even the the government orders the ILWU to embargo Soviet cargo; and

Be It Finally Resolved: That ILWU Local 6 go on record as opposing the draft or draft registration. Instead our policy is not a dime, not a person to U.S. imperialism.

BOB MANDEL
PRE-CAUCUS
SINGLE

R + BP - PRECAUC.

FOR LABOR ACTION IN DEFENSE OF CHILEAN WORKERS MOVEMENT

WHEREAS: No confidence can be placed in the U.S. government and multi-national corporations which are accomplices of the Pinochet junta's bloody suppression of the workers movement in Chile, but instead the power of the labor movement must be mobilized internationally for defense of the Chilean working class through concrete acts of solidarity; and

WHEREAS: Consumer boycotts are usually ineffectual token pressure tactics which avoid the power of specific industrial action by the working class;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. This conference calls on all unions to impose a permanent embargo on the transportation of military goods to Chile.

2. This conference demands the release from prison of all Chilean trade unionists, members of the workers movement, and other victims of the Chilean military dictatorship, and the removal of all legal restrictions on the Chilean trade union movement. To give strength to this demand, this conference calls upon all U.S. unions to organize and impose a boycott of all trade with the Chilean junta for a period of two weeks.

Submitted by: Stan Gow
Howard Keylor

Members of the Longshore-Warehouse Militant Caucus

March 24, 1979
-Labor Donated-

For Caucus & Convention Delegate VOTE

GOW 40C

KEYLOR 38D

Prepare the union to fight P.M.A.!
No deregistrations!
Jobs for all: shorter work shift
with no pay loss Full C.O.L.A.
No raiding - No court suits
against the union
Fight racial and national discrimination
Restore union democracy
An independent workers party to
fight for a workers government

-labor donated-

ELECT MIKE KASIAN FOR HOUSE COMMITTEE

Brothers and Sisters,

I am running for House Committee and asking for your vote. If elected I will stand 100% on the side of the workers against the bosses. Since the ramming through of the Master Contract we at Woolworth have witnessed an increasing assault by the employer on our conditions; attacks on production standards, an attempted citing for refusing overtime, "excessive absenteeism" warnings (refusing doctors' notes), supervisors doing our work, and continued "insubordination" warnings. A fighting House Committee, dedicated to defending the union, would meet these attacks head-on, keeping the membership informed and rallying its support. In each of these cases I urged that we challenge the company, and in one instance fought and won an overturn of an "excessive absenteeism" warning. In brother Maurer's case, fired by the ayatollah of Woolworth for going to the bathroom, I spoke on the need to demand his immediate and unconditional rehiring. If the company refuses to deal with the BA on our terms they should be put on notice that we stand ready to defend ourselves and will fight for union-sanctioned job action. This is an attack on the entire house, we must not stand idly by while the company picks us off one at a time.

We should not see the problems of Woolworth in isolation from the rest of the union. Since the Jimmy Carter contract, companies throughout the industry have been given the green light to enforce their take-away demands. We have no protection against run-away houses. We have no protection against absence control and speed-up which has been used to fire older and "less productive" workers. At Richmond Safeway nearly 25% of the workforce has been fired for failure to keep up with the new production quotas under the vicious MTM system. Workers at both independent and Master Contract houses have been disciplined under ever-tightening absence control policies. Our fight must be linked to a union-wide struggle to maintain and extend conditions to the entire membership. We must stand on the elementary trade union principle: "an injury to one is an injury to all!"

One thing that limits us in taking on the companies is the "no-strike" clause. This must be replaced with the unlimited right to strike. The right to strike has historically been one of the most powerful weapons of the working class against the bosses. The officers accuse us who advocate this as being "strike happy" and willing to hit the bricks over every "silly" issue. This only shows contempt and mistrust in the membership. The "no-strike" clause has been used by the courts and officers to break job actions at Owens, Best Foods, Hueblein, Pfizer, etc. In some cases having the right alone would be enough to limit company abuses.

I have become convinced that what is needed to fight the companies is organization around a clear-cut working class program. The employers have organization; their political parties, government, courts and cops are all allied against the labor movement. We need to organize independently of these forces. During the recent contract period the only group I have seen fight for this policy has been the Militant Caucus (MC). While some groups were calling it an "excellant contract" and a "smashing victory" the MC was the only group to speak and organize against it; calling on the Stewards Council together with others elected in the houses to form a strike committee to take control of negotiations and strike action. Witnessing the MC in action, reading their materials, comparing their program with the other so-called oppositionists and my participation in the anti-KKK/Nazi campaign has led me to conclude that the policies of the MC are the only real way forward. I am proud to join with the Caucus and stand on its program.

As a step to solve unemployment the MC advocates jobs for all through a shorter work week at no loss in pay (30-for-40) and a 100% COLA with no cap. We need a determined drive to organize the unorganized throughout the US, Mexico and Canada, backed by the power of ILWU longshoremen and Teamster drivers to refuse to transport struck cargo. We must aid the struggle of workers in other countries with international labor solidarity such as the longshoremen did in the Chilean and South African boycotts. However, the current ILWU boycott on Iran only serves

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to help the government whip up pro-war hysteria to lay the basis for military intervention in the Middle East and perhaps for a war against the Soviet Union in which working people will be killed.

The pension plan limits our retired members to a sub-standard existence; they need a full pension equal to a month's wage. Workers with children, particularly women, need company-paid-for, union-controlled 24-hour day care centers. To eliminate "unsatisfactory" layoffs we must abolish the discriminatory probation period; dispatch means a job. To increase solidarity among our 1/3 Latin members all union material should be published in Spanish as well as English and translations provided at union meetings.

The Militant Caucus is the only group to state openly that the present leadership must be opposed and replaced. The Caucus' program represents a strategy to unite the working class for victory against the bosses. A central principle is the independence of the labor movement; labor must break completely from the Democratic and Republican parties and organize a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government to end forever exploitation, racism and war.

These policies are in stark contrast to groups like the RCP of Mitch Miller & co. They say unions aren't working class organizations at all(!), thereby dismissing the unions entirely as a fighting force. They accuse the Militant Caucus of "breeding illusions" and "side-tracking" the workers because we say the members should organize to make the ILWU a fighting union. Someone should teach brother Miller to read more carefully. Their anti-busing alliance with the racists in Boston, pro-mullah position on Iran, their "jam the union" rhetoric and suicidal stunts have justly earned them the contempt of many workers and today they've all but disappeared as a force in the union.

There are some who say running on a program like mine is "not relevant" to the house. How can this be true? It is certainly "relevant" to the employer when house after house and union after union are being forced to sacrifice their conditions in the interests of company profits and "labor peace". This situation must concern <u>all</u> workers. The bosses are united in that they want the same rotten conditions for everyone. The job of building a fighting house leadership must be part of a struggle for a new militant leadership throughout the union. As a member of the House Committee I will actively participate in that struggle, at the Stewards Council, membership meetings, conventions, etc., and I will defend to the utmost all union brothers and sisters against the company.

Mike Kasian
#10462

labor donated
Jan. 22, 1980

NOTE
HOUSE
ELECTION
STEWARD

LONGSHORE MILITANT

Issue No. 48 Published by Howard Keylor and Stan Gow Jan. 28, 1980
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For CAUCUS AND CONVENTION DELEGATE
Re-Elect GOW, Elect KEYLOR

On February 8, Local 10 members will elect 10 delegates to the Coast Longshore Caucus. Many brothers see the Coast Caucus in a non-contract year as an ineffectual debating society, where delegates let off steam but allow themselves to be manipulated by the International officers, preventing any effective action to resist employer attacks on the union. Gow and Keylor are candidates for caucus delegate because we see the caucus as the union body which should be utilized to rally coast-wise support for locals under attack. The Caucus can also be used as a forum to lay out a program and a strategy to preserve the gains of the union and to go over to an offensive in order to win job security.

At both the April and December Caucuses last year Stan Gow put up motions and argued for co-ordinated coastwise action to resist PMA in three areas of concern to our local.

(a) Employer imposition of "time off", threats against local officers, and cancellation of PGP to force men to work in violation of the contract.
(b) Continuation, extension and abuse of 9.43/S.E.O. steady man system.
(c) Area Arbitrator's taking over the dispatch system, cutting gangs and job categories, and putting the jobs of older and disabled men in jeopardy.

Not one of the Local 10 delegates supported brother Gow, even to put these issues up on the agenda for discussion. Instead, both Caucuses were devoted almost entirely to a vicious intra-union fight over the question of transfers to Walking-Boss and clerks' locals. No appeal was made to the clerk brothers over the heads of their officers for a joint fight for jobs, resistance to superintendents encroaching on our work and against the clerk and longshore steady man systems. Neither caucus resolved the transfer question.

Many of us have been glad to see Local 10 finally taking job action against the PMA. Gow and Keylor in both Executive Board and membership meetings called for using the opportunity raised by the job action on the walking bosses to take job action on those issues which really are vital to the union: manning, PMA contract violations, steady men and the dispatch system. We also called for the union to defy court injunctions to win what we need.

THE WALKING BOSS ISSUE

While we don't regard the walking boss issue as the most important, this union does have an interest in fighting racial discrimination wherever it takes place in society. Any settlement of this issue should demand language requiring transfer to walking boss by seniority to prevent either racial discrimination or discrimination for pro-union activity.

STAN GOW 14 A HOWARD KEYLOR 12 C

At the same time we know many walking bosses will continue to act like company men unless they are brought back under union control as they were prior to 1947 when walking bosses were part of longshore locals. We should demand contract language taking away the right of a walking boss to fire men This would transform their job from being employer agents to union men responsible for organizing the work

MECHANIZATION HITS NORTHWEST LOG PORTS

We now have a chance to link up Local 10 job actions with the Northwest locals. 20 years after containerization and bulk shipping of grain began to wipe out thousands of waterfront jobs mechanization has finally hit the log lumber and pulp paper ports. Employers have begun to use machinery and devices which will immediately eliminate at least 50% of waterfront jobs in the log ports These locals came into the December, 1979 Caucus with an appeal for coastwise support for their expressed determination to take job action if necessary, to prevent the elimination of jobs. It's too late to trick these longshoremen into giving up their jobs for a cash retirement bonus like with the M&M contract we were suckered into in 1961. We now have the opportunity for a united, coastwise fight for all longshoremen for fixed manning scales on all operations and a shorter work shift at no loss of pay to protect our jobs. As Caucus delegates, Gow and Keylor will fight to unite the whole waterfront division of the ILWU around a program to force PMA to put men to work rather than depending on PGP.

END ILWU ISOLATION--UNITED LABOR RESISTANCE TO GOVERNMENT/EMPLOYER STRIKEBREAKING

The most exciting moments at the April Convention and Caucus were when representatives of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers and longshore delegates told how the Northwest longshore locals defied arbitrators, court injunctions and PGP loss and refused to load scab-produced paper products during the long and bitter 1978- 9 strike These were real acts of working class solidarity What hurts is that actions like this are so exceptional. Our union local has basically stood aside while coal miners, city workers, ILWU and IBT warehousemen, BART workers, teachers, etc have been subjected to vicious scab-herding and strikebreaking attacks.

Gow and Keylor will utilize the Caucus and Convention as a platform to call for theILWU to take the lead in building real labor resistance to government/employer strikebreaking through mass pickets, hotcargoing scab goods and sympathy strikes Right now Bay Area oil workers, supermarket clerks and ILWU warehouse workers striking Pfizer Chemical in Emeryville could all use our help. When the ILA contract expires this fall, we should be ready to defy government injunctions to support them instead of folding up like Herman, Mills, etc. did in 1977.

FOR INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY NO TO THE CHAUVINIST BOYCOTT OF IRANIAN CARGO

Our union once had many ties to workers in other countries which paid off. It's probable that the government was restrained in its efforts to break the long 1948 longshore strike in part by the statements from longshore and seamen's unions world-wide that they would not handle scab cargos. The International union during the 50s, 60s and 70s used to at least give paper opposition to US government imperialist adventures in Korea, Vietnam, etc.

With the International Officers boycott of Iranian cargo, we see our union making common cause with Carter's moves toward war in the Middle East. We are against this boycott of Iranian cargo. The ayatollah is nuttier than the bloody shah. Khomeini's regime oppresses national minorities, women, homosexuals, those who drink and the labor movement; but the US must keep hands off Iran! US imperialism means

exploitation of workers here and abroad Carter would land the Marines not to defend the Iranian workers movement and the oppressed, but to protect US oil interests and for strategic anti-Soviet reasons. The boycott gives aid to those who seek to whip up patriotic hysteria to lay the basis for a US invasion of Iran which could lead to WW III. Carter is now gearing up for a military confrontation with the Soviet Union, threatening to intervene in Afghanistan on the side of tribal chiefs, landlords, and teacher-killing Islamic mullahs.

The KKK and Nazis are probably behind the death threats to Eddie Holland, president of ILWU Local 18 in Sacramento, whose local, with the urging so far of the International, continues to load grain bound for the Soviet Union. We call on the International, which has indicated that if the union is directed by the government that the ILWU may embargo shipping grain to the Soviet Union, to stand firm and uphold the tradition of the ILWU. This union for decades resisted pressure to boycott trade with the USSR brought by right wing and government forces when it suited their anti-communist militarist purposes.

Our local and International leaders are hypocrits about using the boycott weapon. When the shah was using US-supplied weapons to murder Iranian oil workers Local 6 and 10 leadership suppressed Militant Caucus motions that we boycott military supplies to the shah. Late last year, hundreds of black South African auto workers seeking union recognition were fired by Ford. An ILWU-initiated boycott of South African cargo could have mobilized international labor support to win union recognition. Our local and International officials remained silent.

Gow and Keylor, as Caucus delegates, will raise issues of international working class solidarity and will oppose imperialist war moves which are against the interests of workers everywhere.

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ELECT REX REINHART VICE-PRESIDENT

The Longshore Militant urges you to vote for Rex Reinhart for Vice-President in the run-off election. As we said in the first round of elections, we are supporting Brother Reinhart because he is the only candidate running for vice-president on a program that can lead the union to victory. In addition to the positions he took earlier, his advocacy of a coastwise strike in 1981 is a position we haven't seen by such a candidate in many years, and clearly distinguishes him from those currently running.

An important sign of Brother Reinhart's developing commitment to the class-struggle program of the Longshore Militant is, that despite the pressure brought on him to disassociate himself from us and our ideas, he is standing by this program. In order to implement the program on which he is running Brother Reinhart and other militants like him must follow the logic of their own political views and join the Longshore Militant. Together we can win.

Elect Keylor for Caucus and Convention delegate--12C

Re-elect Gow for Caucus and Convention delegate--14A

Elect Reinhart for Vice-President

Elect REX REINHART Vice-President

I'm asking for your support. I would like to state that I will not go along with the officers on actions I don't think benefit the union, and will forcefully bring them up at membership meetings. For instance, both presidential candidates supported Dianne Feinstein, a major strike-breaker against the city workers. I would have attempted to block their endorsement. The membership must get involved in defending itself and its jobs.

We are presently involved in a dispute with Local 34 over transfers. This cannot be resolved as long as we are tied up in court because of the lawsuit brought against Locals 10, 34, and 91 by fifteen longshoremen working as clerks. They should drop this suit. Gow and Keylor's slogan "not longshoremen vs. clerks but ILWU vs. PMA" makes sense; we should be in a joint fight over jobs. Divide and conquer is one of the employers chief weapons and we should not fall into that trap.

Although our contract doesn't run out for another year and a half, let's discuss what we're after. Instead of going in with a long list of demands we ought to stick with basics. Last year Marine Terminals doubled their profits with less man-hours. It follows that we should go for a shorter work shift with more money.

My career as a Holdman was ended the day I got buried in coffee. Since then I've been on the Dock Preference Board, so I have a particular interest in job protection for the disabled and older men. No limit on Dock Boards! We all know that there is plenty of work. Besides clerk jobs, there are stick jobs and container pier jobs called "lasher" jobs.

The S.E.O. program is no real improvement because it brings a 9.43 board into the hall. It encourages "super availability" of steady men as much as before. They are subject to firing or penalties if they don't go along with 9.43. Training for all should be had through a program covering all longshoremen and not requiring steady duty for the companies. Abolish 9.43/S.E.O. steady man system!

Be prepared for a coastwise strike because PMA has become relentless in their attacks and is staying up nights trying to figure out how to eliminate us. Labor itself is under constant attack. The supermarket workers are fighting for their job security; also the oil workers.

I have been endorsed by the Longshore Militant and agree with their program. I'm also for a workers party to fight for a workers government because I'm convinced that the Democrats and Republicans will never help us. As long as the ruling class is in power the worker will get the shaft through taxes and inflation. I've recieved some flak from the brothers about getting teamed up with Gow and Keylor. But I have found them to be completely honest and dedicated to the betterment of the union. Being militant does not mean making rash moves, and I will seek the approval of the membership before anything is done. However, the best defense is a strong offense.

1. We need to get rid of the compulsory arbitration sections of the contract and use job actions to protect ourselves and other workers.

2. To protect our jobs against further mechanization, we need a 6 hour shift for 8 hours pay and no extended shifts. We must have manning scales on <u>all</u> jobs.

3. Keep all boards and gangs. No cuts in the number of men on boards. Keep the stop line.

4. Abolish the 9.43 and S.E.O. steady man system.

5. Strict enforcement of safety rules and conditions.

6. No lawsuits against any union. Calling the government into our internal affairs violates the street code. The courts are just like the cops in another form.

7. Use the unions' power to organize Labor/Black/Latino defense guards to protect picket lines and the workers movement against racist and anti-union groups like the KKK and the Nazis.

8. Support workers on strike or locked out. No working behind picket lines. No raiding.

9. Stop supporting the anti-union Democrats and Republicans. Oppose US government imperialist war adventures in Iran and elsewhere. No more lives of the sons of workers lost for economic gain. For a political party of working people based on the unions which will begin the fight for a working people's government to take over Big Oil and other businesses that use our natural resources and run them for people's needs instead of profit.

Rex Reinhart
8017

labor donated
Jan. 29, 1980

LONGSHORE MILITANT

LA SHOWS THE WAY!
SUPPORT THE OIL STRIKERS!

People's World

Nearly 2,000 ILWU Local 13 members march after shutting down the Port of Los Angeles in solidarity with striking oil workers.

Bloated with profits, ripping off over $1.25 per gallon at the pumps, Big Oil is running a massive nationwide scabbing operation against the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW). The oil workers need mass labor support to defeat these corporate giants. On Saturday, March 1, LA harbor workers spearheaded by ILWU #13 took the lead. Fed up with the oil companies and shipowners attempts to wipe out 40 years of union gains in the port, Local 13 shut it down for 24 hours. With the active support of Teamsters, IBU tug boat operators, seamen and hundreds of others who refuse to cross OCAW picket lines, they cost the shipowners $2.5 million. Thousands of unionists representing at least 10 LA harbor unions marched in the largest show of union force in LA since 1946.

Local 10 should take the same action up here. During the 1969 oil strike, when an OCAW picket was killed in Richmond, Local 10 sent busloads of longshoremen to man the lines. Now the ILWU should help build mass pickets to stop scabbing at the refineries. IBU tug operaters in San Francisco Bay are already honoring OCAW lines, but scabs are running the tankers in. A one day Bay Area wide port shutdown in solidarity with the oil strikers would be a big boost for their strike. It would back up Local 13's message to the PMA that the ILWU won't stand for further attacks on harbor workers conditions. It could begin to turn the tide against the wave of strikebreaking which has also hit BART workers, SF teachers, Teamster grocery workers, retail clerks, KRON-TV crews and the ILWU Local 6 Pfizer strikers.

LET'S SHUT IT DOWN HERE!

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REELECT COW AND KEYLOR

FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD

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The main political question in Longshore Local 10 elections this year is what kind of leadership can defend the union against Reagan's certain frontal attack on workers and minorities. There can be no doubt that this administration will try to suppress wages, pensions and other social benefits of workers, and will move rapidly to smash strikes. The fascist Klan and Nazis, whose alarming growth in the last several years was stimulated by Carter's racist, anti-labor policies, will grow more rapidly because of the Reagan victory, escalating their racist terror against Blacks, other minorities and labor unions. Meanwhile, Reagan will be pushing preparations for nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

The spectacle of Reagan in power, signalling a sharp turn to the right, can be laid squarely at the doorstep of Carter and the Democratic Party, and the pro-capitalist trade union leadership who loyally support the Democrats right down to the present.

Carter's reactionary, anti-Soviet crusade foreign policy combined with his "life-is-not-fair" austerity program domestically, created the right-wing atmosphere that paved the way for Reagan's victory. Double-digit inflation and massive unemployment created a mood of disgust and desperation. And throughout this whole period it was these "labor leiutenants" who did their best to keep the lid on, alibing the Democrats, pushing give-away contracts, and preventing outbursts of strike action.

So what is the response of our union leadership? President Jimmy Herman, who pushed the endorsement of Carter, appeared at our November meeting and as expected put up a posture of "resistance" to Reagan's anti-labor, anti-Black, pro-war program. But when you strip away the fancy words, Herman's "alternative" is simply the same old crap: to spend the next four years attempting to rebuild the shattered labor/liberal Democratic Party alliance. In effect we're asked to wait--again--until the Democrats can get back in. Remember the Nixon/Ford years and all the "waiting" for the "veto-proof Democratic congress" and the big push to get "progressive" Carter and the Democrats back in power? All the good things labor would get? Well all that has come and gone, but life for the working people has simply gone to hell. "Lesser evil" capitalist politics is the only program the Jimmy Hermans know, so all they can say is "wait". It means facing the Reagan years with our hands tied behind our backs. Workers can't wait four years!

We desperately need a complete break with those policies and a union leadership that knows who our enemies are and will mobilize the united strength of the labor movement to protect our living standards and jobs. That will organize the unions to smash Klan terror through labor/Black defense guards. A leadership to begin the struggle inside the labor movement to organize a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government that will expropriate industry without compensation and organize a rational planned economy.

The Longshore Militant has been warning the membership for five years that only a leadership dedicated to a class-struggle program can defend the hard-won gains of the past and go forward. We warned that without a program for the working class to organize politically to take power, union officers can only end up competing to see who can preside over the next round of defeats. None of this years crop of candidates for major union office have such a program. The leading candidates for president, secretary-treasurer, and BA have all had their chance; they have all been full-time union officers and have all proven themselves incapable of even defending the union economically against the continuous attacks of the P.M.A.

(over)

This year again there are a number of honest rank-and-filers running for various offices and committees. But as we've said before, "Honest people without a program can't deliver". The history of Local 10 is full of "honest militants" who when elected to office found themselves boxed in by the contract and left hanging out alone by the officers. These brothers either get discouraged and quit trying, or become cynical, blame the membership for defeats, and learn to play the game of least resistance laid down by the officers. We would urge these brothers to take a hard look at the program of the Longshore Militant and join us to build a class struggle opposition inside the ILWU. There's nothing magic about our program. It simply spells out those principles and tactics which the historical experience of the working class shows can lead to victory over the employers. Stan Gow and Howard Keylor are running for reelection to the Executive Board on this class struggle program. We are the only candidates running on such a program this year.

Gow and Keylor are asking for your vote to reelect us to the Executive Board, not just for us as individuals, but for our program. We invite all brothers and sisters who are deeply concerned about Reagan's victory, the rise of KKK racist terror, and the coming attacks on our union and on the working class to discuss the Longshore Militant program with us and to consider joining the Militant Caucus to help build a new, class struggle leadership in the ILWU.

☐ I would like to work with you on your election campaign.

☐ Here's some money to help with your expenses.

☐ I am interested in joining the Militant Caucus.

NAME ----------

ADDRESS ----------

CITY ---------- ZIP ----------

PHONE ----------

Make checks payable to: Stan Gow
Mail to: P.O. Box 863
Oakland, CA 94604

App. G

LONGSHORE MILITANT

Issue No. 51 Published by Howard Keylor and Stan Gow Feb. 6, 1981

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Elect Gow and Keylor to Caucus and Convention Delegate

On February 13, Local 10 members will elect 10 delegates to the International Convention and the Longshore Caucus to set policies that will effect the lives of all ILWU members. We go into these elections facing four years of Ronald Reagan as president, signaling a sharp turn to the right and a frontal assault on all workers and minorities. The fascist Klan and Nazis, whose alarming growth in the last several years was stimulated by Carter's racist, anti-labor policies will now grow even more rapidly, escalating their fascist terror against blacks, other minorities, and labor unions, unless the unions organize to stop them. The possibility of a nuclear war against the Soviet Union is now a very real possibility. One of the key issues we'll fight for at the Convention is for organized union defense squads to stop Klan/Nazi racist terror.

The employers, emboldened by the Reagan victory, will be aggressively pushing anti-union attacks in all divisions of the ILWU and throughout the entire labor movement. In our Warehouse Division, for example, stewards are being harassed and fired, grievance procedures are scrapped and challenged in the bosses' courts, and most recently the Distributors Association is threatening an NLRB suit against the Local 6 hiring hall itself! In the Longshore Division, already battered by years of sell-out M&M contracts, we can expect PMA to move in more aggressively than ever for major takeaways, escalating their attempts to reduce the ILWU to a hollow shell. Nothing short of a solid strike will stop them.

So we're in for some hard fights, but we've got a leadership that is doing everything in its power to tie our hands behind our backs, economically and politically. These delegate elections are therefore the most important we've had in years and we can expect the International and Local officers to use every trick in the book to select a hand-picked body of delegates who will rubberstamp their do-nothing policies at the Convention and the Caucus. Make your vote count -- vote for Stan Gow and Howard Keylor -- the only candidates running on an aggressive class struggle program to use the whole strength of our union to defend all its members against the attacks of the Reagan years.

Stan Gow 12-D **Howard Keylor 14-B**

LONGSHORE MILITANT

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VOTE NO, BURN IT, AND STRIKE!

If you haven't read the proposed new "contract" you better do it fast. Because this is the biggest sellout we've seen since Bridges negotiated the notorious M&M contract in 1961. We are really being thrown to the wolves with this one. For example:the steadyman system has been qualitatively expanded via a fully elaborated SEO program complete with their own dispatch board, stewards, etc. With no limits set on the number of new steadymen what this means is a complete two-tier system intended to abolish the Skilled Boards and reduce all other dispatch categories to a small handful. Along with inducements to go steady are severe penalties for dropping out of the SEO program. Dangerous new restrictions are being placed on PGP eligibility(with more to come if PMA gets these). Also a seperate 8 page memorandum has been agreed to by the Officers and Caucus to replace the Union Hiring Hall with a "Computerized Telephone Dispatch" system! That's right-- telephone a computer operator for your job. Fully funded by PMA and staffed with PMA personnel. As soon as one major local votes to go ahead the system will begin.(Guess which port will "volunteer"?)

These are just a few of the worst items. This is PMA's contract and it's a goddamned insult to have this recommended by the Officers and a majority of the Caucus. With Herman and Co's cooperation, PMA is trying to "buy" this outrageous proposal. The doses of poison are being sweetened with sizable wage increases(still below inflation) and some increases on pensions. Clearly PMA hopes you will simply take the money and run. But money's no good without a job. We say PMA needs to be taught a lesson (as well as Herman and the rest of the traitors who are pushing it). The only thing this contract is good for is a BONFIRE. Tell PMA and Herman to go to hell. Vote NO and shut everything down!

WHAT WE NEED

What we need is jobs. To get jobs, we need a coastwide shorter work shift at no loss in pay, with no extended shifts, the right to stop work on grievances instead of the arbitration system, manning scales beefed up on general cargo, particularly steel, and on container ships, especially with the third generation container ships using the Matson-Richmond Mousetrap operation and similar automated arangements. In Container yards, we need jurisdiction from the gate on in. We need elimiation of the steady skilled man system coastwide. It's clear from PMA's attitude that it will take strike to win any significant part of what we need. But don't wait for Herman to start it.

GETTING THE SHAFT

It was clear already at the Spring Caucus that it was composed of a majority of gutless wonders, despite voting "strike demands." All the big talk went by the boards when it came down to voting. With a few exceptions they all voted to kiss PMA's ass and stick it to the membership. As for those besides Howard Keylor who voted NO, we'll reserve comment until we see whether they intend to back up those NO votes with strike action. What the majority voted for is rotten.

For starters, they seemed to think San Francisco so liked the SEO program that Local 10 voted down in '78, that they socked it to us again, only now it's far worse. Now steady men would spend two months on the job for one in the hall officially the entire 3 years of the contract, instead of the one and one we were supposed to get but never did after the first year of the last contract. Now, an individual employer can

send for "his own" men in the hall, knowing he can shift the men on the job to tractors on the dock, because "his" men in the hall are familiar with his cranes rather than having to take the next man in sequence from any company. Now, going steady will be the only way to become familiar with any of the new equiptment. Now, going steady and then quitting the program will drop a man out of any further promotion opportunities. Now, the employers want additional language allowing them to send SEO men back to the hall which will further tighten PMA control over steadymen.

Now that tractors aboard ships have been newly designated to the Employers' hall SEO Board as well as top pickers and side pickers, plus the games the individual employer can play with his "own" men in the hall, it won't be that easy to make a living from the "old" skill boards.If you're like the majority of dock and hold men without a reserve card it will be almost impossible to pick up an extra winch or lift job if an SEO man wants it, which means you'll never get a promotion. Sothe only real way to deal with the 9.43/Crane Supplement issue is to dump it and bring all the jobs back to the hall, period. All other methods are proven failures. Incidentally, S.F. isn't the only local now taking the heat on the employer's steady man program. The Coast LRC will be putting pressure on Local 13 to come up with the number of steady men PMA says it needs according to the letter on Pg. 6 of the Supplement.

SCREW THE COMPUTER,SAVE THE HIRING HALL

PMA must be especially pleased to have Herman and the Caucus accept and recommend their proposal to replace the Hiring Hall with a "no choice" Computerized Telephone Dispatch system. Back in 1934, the hiring hall had to be forced on the employers, but now we're supposed to give back what it took blood to win. This makes an obscene mockery of July 5--"Bloody Thursday". As far as PMA, Herman and Flynn are concerned, what do we need a hiring hall for anyway. The leftovers (if this contract is passed) can shape up under the Bay Bridge and bid for jobs to company superintendents. Right? This "package" should be thrown back in their faces for this alone!

To add insult to injury, under " CFS Program Fund" is the following language, "...Such a program will retain and attract to the industry responsible, reliable and skilled persons whose availability will assure a stable work-force and will minimize the costs of those industry programs that are now required when work is unavailable." Continuing under the CFS heading we find the takeaway of giving up all arbitrations won for the current CFS workforce, and further on the promise that the union will cooperate with the companies, to increase productivity and bear down on its members in the CFS stations. This relates to PMA's Master Plan of the union controlling a small, steady skilled work force and some casuals who'll shape up at the gutted "hiring hall." The first answer to runaway work in the CFS categories is organizing the unorganized uptown in conjunction with the Warehouse Division--you can't compete with the minimum wage.

PGP COPS FOR PMA

Under the proposed contract if you don't qualify for unemployment because of outside work you don't get P.G.P. This means you have to fink on yourself. The Caucus also agreed to another restriction on P.G.P. If you don't work at least 25% of the average work hours in your category you'll lose P.G.P. for 2 quarters. This is a device that can bear down particularly hard on some older and partially disabled members. Especially with the variability of work on slow moving boards like the dock preference, under a rotation system a member could easily be available 5 days but short of 25% of work on some boards. This 25% rule could be the first step to 7 day availability.

PENSIONERS FURTHER DIVIDED

Some guys going out now don't think the proposed pension is too bad, especially if they've got 30 years or more in. But there's a big gap between what men retiring under this contract will be getting as against the earliest group retired before '81. These men would be getting only about half what the July '81 pensioners would and it's graded for four basic groups top to bottom. Retiring under this proposal, with inflation and no COLA, what group will you be in 3 to 6 years from now, brother? The only pay approaching a living pension is the base working period income, PGP level.

WHAT WE DID NOT GET

No shorter workshift with no loss in pay.
No elimination of extended shifts.
No new safety requirements on the employer.
No new manning that we voted for like six man minimum hold gangs or container ship manning.
No from the gate jurisdiction in container yards.
No elimination of the "PGP ABUSE" section, 20.7 of the contract.
No weekly paid PGP.
No change in grievance procedure to eliminate the arbitrator and give the right to stop work on other than safety or onerousness.

VOTE IT DOWN--STRIKE!

It doesn't take a genius to figure out what is going on with this contract. PMA has had a very clear idea of what it wants the west coast waterfront to look like: major ports operating with a few hundred steady skilled men on a 24 hour continuous operations basis, tightly controlled with maximum labor discipline and maximum flexibility for management. The precondition for this is no trouble from the union. For years they have been steadily chipping away at the Longshore Division towards this end. Now with Reagan in the White House PMA feels it has the wind in its sails. Also they know they can rely on Jimmy Herman and the other gutless Judas Iscariots that pass for leadership in the ILWU. So all PMA sees is a green light and they are going for the big one. This contract, particularly the SF section, gives them pretty much what they have been after since 1961. And Herman and the boys will be their cops.

This is <u>our</u> union, and neither Herman, the negotiating committee nor the Caucus have the right to sell it to PMA along with our jobs. But that's what they're trying to do. They must be stopped by the only means we have--shutting down the whole goddamned coast. The idea of "sending the negotiating committee back to get something better" is simply bullshit. These people are nothing less than errand boys for PMA. The main thing now is to get out there and organize a solid NO vote and set up mass picket lines up and down the coast. Not a "token" strike but a real one--no military, no clearing the docks, no walking away from Taft-Hartley injunctions. A port-wide and coast-wide strike committee will take care of negotiations later. After we've brought PMA to its knees. And Herman and his friends better stay out of the way.

Howard Keylor’s Resignation Statement from the Spartacist League
September 5, 1981

5 Sept., 1981

Oakland

Keith D. – District Organizer

I am resigning from the Spartacist League, U.S. and from my post on the Central Control Commission. I have considered this action carefully since last Sunday's District Conference and have concluded that it is impossible for me to remain within and have concluded that it impossible for me to remain within and under the discipline of the organization.

Statements made by the District Organizer and the T-2 Fraction Organizer make it probable that in the future I will be prevented from working week-ends; a punitive action which would create an insolvable conflict between my personal obligations and the demands of the organization.

If I were to attempt to remain within the S.L. the tensions deriving from my distrust of and contempt for the central leadership and the expected ongoing campaign to destroy and discredit me politically will inevitably result in a confused, unclear confrontation over secondary questions.

I would have preferred to remain in the organization and attempt to open a fight over the real question of the defensive regime, the increasingly cult-like internal life of the organization, and the consequences of these trends in the work of the S.L.

For about a year I have been moving toward the conclusion that distortions in the leadership of sections, locals and fractions have developed and matured—at least in part from an internal life characterized by a defensive, hierarchical regime combined with a personalistic, Jesuitical method of internal argument and discussion. This process is advanced to the point where the SL/SYL membership is increasingly combined of "true believers" or cynics. I suspect that the incidents of political and tactical incompetence are connected with this deterioration of internal life. I think the central leadership has consciously and cynically concluded that the membership of the S.L. is too weak politically and personally to allow even the slightest disagreement with the leadership. There is an implied arithmetical equation: disagreement with the leadership equals hostility to the leadership equals disloyalty equals betrayal. Carried further, these trends will see the S.L. come to resemble less a principled, proletarian combat organization than a theocratic, hierarchical, political cult.

I remain in political agreement with the S.L. and will continue to politically support the program as expressed in the public life of the S.L. and the public work of its supporters and members. If, as I fear, the deterioration of the S.L.'s internal life leads at some time in the future to a departure from Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism in the direction of centrism or sectarianism, I will inform the S.L. of my differences and whether I feel it necessary to publicly disagree on those positions or actions.

I am retaining my notes on the T-2 El Salvador discussion and my notes around the PATCO strike discussions. I have destroyed (as I usually do after the passage of time) all other notes on internal discussion or reports. All questions leading up to and arising out of the events surrounding my resignation will not be revealed to non-S.L./S.Y.L. members. Although it will handicap me in my intention to continue to study and analyse the question of the internal life of the S.L., I will return the internal documents.

On Lisa S. I tried to defend Lisa against what appeared as a vicious, personalist attack on her to discourage her from fighting on a political question and to drive her out of the S.Y.L. In my zeal to protect her I over-reacted and did not do a very good job of protecting her political/organizational rights from unprincipled organizational methods. I don't think it would have been possible, no matter what I did, to protect Lisa from what the youth leadership with the probable encouragement of the S.L. district leadership was trying to do to her. As a result of my anxiety to offer what limited protection and defense I thought she had, I failed to act with sufficient care procedurally. Consequently, the real issues around Lisa's motion and the S.Y.L. district meeting's motion were obscured. This lack of care made me vulnerable to the lies, distortions, and demagoguery employed at the 29 August district meeting.

I will pay up all outstanding financial obligations to the S.L. as soon as possible.

Harlan—Bay Area S.L.

Oakland Local

Militant Longshoreman
1981-1987

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No.1 | Published by Howard Keylor | December 31, 1981
(415) 532-2436 | 974 Bayview Ave # 3 | Oakland, CA 94610

Re-Elect KEYLOR and GOW to Executive Board

This is the first issue of the MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN edited and published by Howard Keylor. For more than six years Keylor (along with Brother Stan Gow) published the LONGSHORE MILITANT. We presented a working class analysis of longshoremen's place in the world and put forward a class struggle program for waterfront workers. The MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN endorses the re-election of Brother Gow to the Executive Board of Local 10 and supports the program outlined in the December 18 issue of the LONGSHORE MILITANT.

R E A G A N ' S A N T I - S O V I E T W A R D R I V E

It's become commonplace for some brothers to argue that the union has no business discussing and taking positions or actions on El Salvador, South Africa, or Poland since the union is growing weaker and less effective in even defending our own jobs and working conditions. But it's the same kind of union leadership which refuses to take on P.M.A. that also refuses to take effective solidarity actions to defend workers in the U.S. and refuses to take positions that would point the way to defending the interests of workers internationally.

Reagan's moves to strangle Nicaragua, support the junta's butchery of El Salvadorian workers and peasants, and blockade Cuba lead directly toward nuclear war with the Soviet Union. The vast U.S. arms build-up represents the goal of American capitalism to eliminate the U.S.S.R. as the main deterrant to U.S. imperialism's drive to wipe out the gains of workers everywhere.

The unwillingness of the ILWU leadership to confront Reagan's war drive was made clear at the April International Convention. Herman, McClain and company supported an "adequate" U.S. arms budget and refused to take sides in El Salvador. They uncritically endorsed the Polish "Solidarity" movement and took sides with Reagan against the U.S.S.R., warning the Soviets not to interfere (Even if capitalism was being restored?)

The editor submitted a minority report on Poland and argued for a "wait and see" attitude at that time. Keylor warned that the church-influenced, anti-Soviet, Polish nationalist leadership of Solidarity

could mislead the Polish workers into laying the basis for bringing back capitalism. Brother Keylor argued for a policy of support to those elements of Solidarity that were groping toward a working class political revolution against the governing bureaucracy, a revolution committed to socialist property forms, and appealing to Soviet workers toward the same goals.

The hour is getting very late to mobilize labor action to stop Reagan's attacks on workers' hard-won gains. Keylor alone among the delegates to the June Caucus voted against the Coast Committee's resolution which effectively blocked our union from taking the lead to organize work stoppages by maritime workers in order to block cuts in the Longshoremen and Harbor workers Act. Only labor strike action can stop the cuts in Social Security and other social legislation and to stop the thinly veiled racist attacks on the gains of black people. Reagan's wrecking of the air trafic controllers union is a clear warning that only massive acts of workers' solidarity can prevent the destruction of the labor movement.

SOME PEOPLE NEVER LEARN
THE GIBSON CASE

It's never been more urgent than now to keep the government and the capitalist courts out of our internal union affairs to prevent pro-employer judges from interfering in the hiring hall and registration system. The longshore division has been besieged with lawsuits attacking our contractual dispatch and registration systems, some of which the union has lost. In the Gibson case, which started 13 years ago, the Portland Clerks Local lost. Local 10's pro-rated share of the cost, $ 30,000, <u>has not been paid</u>. If this policy of refusing to defend <u>all</u> longshore and clerk locals against lawsuits continues coastwise unity will be broken and every local, including our own, will be left to defend itself. This is the disastrous policy of most of the officers and Executive Board some of whom even <u>openly support</u> the bringing of lawsuits against locals and local officers.

Without a program of fighting the P.M.A. to maintain and expand waterfront jobs, which would allow the registration of women, blacks, and national minorities, we can expect even more Title 7 lawsuits including suits against Local 10.

DECLINE OF THE UNION

It's always depressing to try to describe at each election time the state of the local and find that it's gone down hill during the preceding year. Where are we now? Smaller, shorter and more infrequent membership meetings; fewer jobs, more longshoremen living on P.G.P.; P.M.A. chisling on the contract, backed up by the arbitrator; unsafe working conditions, not enough manning; P.G.P. cut when men get fed up and take even individual job action; encroachment on our jurisdiction; and finally, men becoming desperate and going steady as S.E.O. skilled equipment operators.

Most dangerous and alarming of all is the fact that longshoremen are losing confidence in the ability of the union to defend their interests and some men are competing with each other for favors from P.M.A. representatives.

These conditions can be laid squarly at the door of a leadership which has accepted the 9.43 and S.E.O. system, refused to fight for manning and a shorter work shift, and has conformed to the policy of "no illegal work stoppages", "work now and grieve later", and "everything is subject to arbitration". The editor, Howard Keylor, submitted resolutions on all these issues to the April pre-contract Coast Caucus but got very little support from other Local 10 delegates.

Our local officers are reduced to complaining that Jerry Sutliff, area arbitrator, is "unfair" and holding up the vain hope, that if he shows himself to be very biased that he will be replaced. There's only one answer: mobilize the membership to take on P.M.A. with job action to defend our conditions and to appeal to the coast locals for support.

T H E S.E.O. M E S S
T H E C A N C E R G R O W S B I G G E R

The 1981 contract made the S.E.O. system even worse. The steady equipment operator system is further expanded and extended into the hall eating up more skilled jobs. Stevedoring companies can now order their "own" men from the S.E.O. Board and P.M.A. refuses to recognize a stop line on the S.E.O. Board; if one job goes outside the S.E.O. board all S.E.O. men qualified for that job flop and lose the guarantee.

All attempts to modify the S.E.O. system are simply doomed to failure. Brother Reg Theriault's motion to stop S.E.O. men from driving tractors and other rolling stock against the ship was clearly in violation of the contract and would have led to a major confrontation with P.M.A. Brothers Keylor and Gow voted against this motion at the Executive Board warning that this motion gives the illusion that it's possible to modify the S.E.O. system without a fight. We put up a motion at that time to prepare the membership for a fight to finally end this cancer by calling all S.E.O. men back to the hall. No vote took place on our motion because Executive Board members promptly took a hike eliminating the quorum of 10 members.

F O R A C L A S S - S T R U G G L E L E A D E R S H I P

As only two people on the Executive Board Keylor and Gow can't make any decisive difference in the course of the union. The most we can do is continue to expose what's going on and to point the way out. Not until the union develops an alternative leadership committed to a class struggle program will we see a change in the downhill motion of the union. The following program includes those measures and principles which could show the way out of the dilemma in which we find ourselves.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No. 2 | Published by Howard Keylor | January 29, 1982
(415) 532-2436 | 974 Bayview Ave # 3 | Oakland, CA 94610

Build A Fighting Union

E L E C T K E Y L O R A N D G O W C A U C U S D E L E G A T E S

Brothers may be surprised that Howard Keylor and the MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN urge Local 10 members to vote for Stan Gow after his hysterical leaflet of January 6 attacking the editor. The MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN supports candidates for union office on the basis of their program, not on their tactical sense or their effectiveness. I hope that Local 10 longshoremen will <u>again</u> <u>follow</u> <u>my</u> <u>advice</u>, as they did January 8 when they reelected both Keylor and Gow to the Executive Board with the highest percentage vote we've ever received.

S E T B A C K F O R B U I L D I N G A L T E R N A T E C L A S S - S T R U G G L E L E A D E R S H I P

Their is no denying that the attempt of the LONGSHORE - WAREHOUSE MILITANT CAUCUS to destroy and discredit Keylor represents a setback in the struggle to promote those principles of Militant Trade Unionism which can help to build the alternative class-struggle leadership our union so desperately needs. The frantic and dishonest misrepresentation of Keylor's positions on a whole range of important issues tends to discredit the Caucus, the LONGSHORE MILITANT, and Brother Gow and makes it increasingly unlikely that they will be able to build an alternative leadership.

K E Y L O R ' S N O N - E X I S T E N T "D I F F E R E N C E S"

It's impossible to completely counteract the lies and distortions about my positions that are contained in the MILITANT CAUCUS leaflet. For every word of slander I would have to use 10 words of factual description in order to set the record straight. Nevertheless, it could be useful to describe some of the background to my resignation from the MILITANT CAUCUS in November 1981.

Stan's leaflet says that Keylor "... no longer supports the MILITANT CAUCUS program!" The fact is that until the November 1981 Caucus meeting where the votes had been lined up to pass a motion forbidding me to run for reelection to the Local 10 Executive Board and the Coast Longshore Caucus, <u>none of the issues</u> dealt with in Stan's leaflet were raised or discussed in a Caucus meeting! No differences on program between myself and the Caucus existed then or exist now!

So what is behind this hysterical attack on me? I had developed differences early last year with some Caucus members on issues which did not involve the union or the Caucus program. Those differences led the Caucus leadership to engage in a campaign of character assassination outside the Caucus, leading up finally to the meeting where they demanded that I cooperate in my own political suicide in the union. At that meeting I told the Caucus that I could best advance the program of the Caucus by running independantly for reelection and continuing to argue for those principles and actions that could defend the union and advance working class solidarity.

KEYLOR FOUGHT FOR CAUCUS PROGRAM IN 1981 CONTRACT

It would be much easier to set the record straight if Stan and I had been permitted to issue a LONGSHORE MILITANT after the April contract coast caucus which formulated contract demands and than turned them over to the Negotiating Committee. Keylor was successful at the April Caucus in getting motions on the floor for debate and a vote on a whole range of issues vital to the union including:

100 % Cost of Living formula in pension contract

Abolish all Master Contract sections allowing steady equipment operators

Honor all union picket lines

Abolish "work as directed" and arbitration sections of the contract grievance procedure

Abolish 20.61 allowing PMA to cancel PGP for alleged union actions

I argued after the April Caucus that it was vital to issue a LONGSHORE MILITANT warning the membership that the coast caucus had failed to put together a contract program which could unite the membership for a strike to get what we need and that in fact the caucus had left everything (including the right to extend the contract past July) in the hands of a Negotiating Committee dominated by 6 International officers. I wrote an outline for a leaflet but the MILITANT CAUCUS refused to allow it to be printed. The Caucus leadership dismissed the outline with the cynical comment "we're not an informational bureau, besides it's boring." This was the first time in the history of the LONGSHORE MILITANT that we had not issued a leaflet to prepare the membership in advance for a contract fight.

LONGSHORE MILITANT SILENT ON INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

After the June International Convention in Hawaii I wanted to issue a LONGSHORE MILITANT, warning the membership that the union leadership was falling in

behind Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, refused to support military victory for the worker and peasant supported leftist insurgents in El Salvador, continued to rely on the capitalist courts and cops to stop the KKK and Nazis, and blocked even a floor discussion on the need for a workers' party. Again the Caucus refused to issue a leaflet leaving the membership in the dark about the direction the union was taking.

It's apparent now that the real reason for the refusal to issue leaflets on the caucus and convention was to "disappear" Keylor as much as possible, making it easier to rewrite later the history of Keylor's role as Local 10 delegate.

HOW TO DEFEAT THE SEO CANCER - ACTION OR ABSTRACTION

Keylor was the only Local 10 delegate to vote against attempts to modify the SEO system at the April Caucus. Brother Gow has been making a big thing out of the fact that in Item 1 of my program I demand: "Call all SEO men back to the hall. Dispatch all skilled equipment jobs from the hall." Is Brother Gow opposed to this action? Does he advise us to wait until the contract is open in 1984? Doesn't Stan remember that in previous non-contract years we, the LONGSHORE MILITANT, advised smashing this section of the contract in practice rather than suffering three more years?

After the September membership meeting I realized that I had made a mistake when I said that I would probably vote for Brother Reg Theriault's motion to limit SEO men from driving rolling stock against the ship. At that meeting I argued (to a lot of applause) that it was impossible to simply modify the system; that any fight could only succeed if it upped the ante to call all SEO men back to the hall. I spoke before Brother Gow whose comments were largely unintelligible, so I don't know what he said. After that meeting I argued that when the issue came before the Executive Board, we should vote against Brother Theriault's motion and come up with a practical alternative motion to call SEO men back to the hall.

POLAND - INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS LINE UP WITH COUNTERREVOLUTION

Brother Gow's January 6 leaflet tries to link Keylor's June 1981 position on Poland with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. But it is unclear from his leaflet how Brother Gow sees the International officers December 21 statement deploring the Polish Army's smashing of Solidarity's moves toward counterrevolution.

I have no intention of ducking the issue of Polish Solidarity. It is a tragedy that the bulk of the Polish working class was led by their hatred of the incompetent, repressive, Polish government bureaucracy to support the clerical-nationalist moves to take Poland out of the Warsaw Pact and lay the basis for the restoration of capitalism. The Polish workers would have been in far worse shape if Solidarity had brought the Polish economy under western capitalist control, and a civil war had developed, in which the most right-wing catholic-nationalists had seized political power.

KEYLOR AND THE AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLER'S STRIKE - A DELIBERATE LIE

It's painful to have to say that Brother Gow's January 6 leaflet lies when it says that Keylor was for consumer boycotts and against labor solidarity action to shut down the airports. At strike support meetings, at Executive Board meetings, and elsewhere Keylor argued vehemently that only the united power of mass labor picket lines could shut down the airports and win the strike of the air traffic controllers.

MILITANT CAUCUS ATTACK ON KEYLOR - THE REAL PURPOSE

Some Brothers commented that the famous January 6 MILITANT CAUCUS attack on Keylor sounded unbelievable and at times incomprehensible.

That's right - the leaflet was not written for longshoremen! The leaflet was written for a wider audience than Local 10; it was designed to be reprinted and quoted from in publications addressed to the left in Chicago, Toronto, Melbourne, Hamburg, Paris and London. The lies and distortions contained therein could be used to discredit Keylor outside the union. Waterfront workers know enough about these issues to detect the inaccuracies and strained arguments and conclusions.

RUN OFF ELECTION - NO CHOICE

The January primary election showed that none of the leading contenders for full time union office have anything approaching a real mandate from the membership. This is not surprising, since none of the leading candidates or groups competing for office have a program to unite the membership in defending us against the employers and their government.

THE GIBSON CASE - COAST UNITY AGAINST THE CAPITALIST COURTS IS THE ISSUE

Brother Gow in his election leaflet ducked the question of the Gibson case, where the issue is coast longshore unity against lawsuits, which threaten our hiring hall. The Local 10 politicians have cynically created such anger and hysteria around this issue that it's not surprising that Brothers who know better have hidden out on this question. I hope Brother Gow will see fit to publicly support a move for Local 10 to pay our share of the coastwise costs of this anti-union lawsuit.

WHERE IS THE MILITANT CAUCUS GOING?

The LONGSHORE - WAREHOUSE MILITANT CAUCUS appears to be giving up on the task of building a principled class-struggle caucus in longshore. Their attitude toward Keylor reveals a position that no one who does not subject himself to the discipline of the MILITANT CAUCUS can provide honest leadership to the union - that anyone who finds it counter-productive to militant trade unionism to remain in the Caucus must be discredited and destroyed.

We still face the task of building the core of an alternative class-struggle leadership in the ILWU.

LABOR DONATED

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No. 3 | Published by Howard Keylor | April 10, 1982
(415) 562-3308 | 1641 71st Ave, Oakland, CA 94621

Gibson Case – Golden Case – S.E.O. Injunction
CAPITALIST COURTS ATTACK UNION

Coastwise unity of the Longshore Division is threatened by Local 10's failure to pay our share of the Gibson Case costs. Increasingly in recent years longshore and clerk locals have been sued in the courts. In cases where these lawsuits threaten the union's contractual rights over registration, promotion, dispatch, and transfers the Longshore Caucus has authorized the Coast Committee to pro-rate the costs of defending these cases among all the locals on a man to man basis. Brothers may not know, for instance, that the successful defense of Local 10 and Local 34 in the Squire Scott case were distributed coastwide. In that case Local 10 longshoremen who had been working out of Local 34 as clerks for some time sued to be transferred as Class A clerks on the basis of "squatters rights" and without regard to seniority.

Local 10 is the only local in the longshore division that, at the present time, is refusing to pay its share of the Gibson Case settlement. This refusal is based upon actions at two membership meetings where it was argued that Local 10 should not help defend any local charged with racial discrimination. Since then the Executive Board has had two lengthy discussions on the Gibson Case, but the facts that came out there haven't been fully reported to the membership.

F A C T S O N T H E G I B S O N C A S E

Because of the extreme and increasing danger of the capitalist courts intervention into internal longshore union affairs, this article will give a few of the background facts on the Gibson Case.

1967: Gibson filed E.E.O.C. complaint against Local 40, Portland Ship Clerk's Local -- four black casuals originally involved -- court later

added ten more blacks to complaint -- Gibson charged Local 40 with racial discrimination against him and against other blacks in dispatch as casual clerks -- none had worked as casual clerks prior to 1966, none had applied for Class B Clerk registration.

The case went to District Federal Court under Title Seven of the Civil Rights Act -- District Court rejected the complaint -- Case appealed by Gibson and other plaintiffs to 9th Circuit Court of Appeals -- The International was also sued, along with PMA -- the International tried to withdraw as a defendant, but the Court ruled that the International ILWU could be sued as a defendant because of Coast Committee contractual control of dispatch and registration.

B R I D G E S R E F U S E S G I B S O N C A S E S E T T L E M E N T

Early on there was an attempt to settle the case out of court with registration of the plaintiffs, but Brother Bridges refused and joined Local 40 in defending the case in court.

The Federal Appeals Court finally reversed the lower court and found Local 40, (and the International), guilty of racial discrimination in 1967. In 1981, the International, PMA, and Local 40 settled the case out of court to the tune of several hundred-thousand dollars. They figured that appeal and further litigation might run up the final cost of settlement to two or three million dollars.

In 1967 there was one black class A clerk in Local 40. During the fourteen years of the court suit Local 40 registered a number of black clerks, mostly through transfers from longshore.

O T H E R L O C A L S A G R E E
T O S H A R E C O S T S O F G I B S O N C A S E

In June, 1981, all locals were billed for costs of settling the Gibson Case. The July Longshore Caucus did not reverse or reject this pro-rata billing. Local 13, Wilmington, delayed paying their share until they got reassurance that their cost of defending the union in several local cases would also be pro-rated coastwide. They have now agreed to pay their share of the Gibson Case.

G O L D E N C A S E - C O U R T O V E R R U L E S
C O N T R A C T I N L O S A N G E L E S

The anti-union lawsuit which most clearly shows the extreme danger to the union is the Golden Case, which was just settled in Los Angeles. In that lawsuit a number of women, most of whom had never worked on the waterfront, went into court to block the transfer of 108 longshoremen to the clerks local. They were joined by a group of casual clerks who wanted also to block the transfers and get themselves registered on a new Clerk B list.

The settlement put the Federal District Court in permanent control of all registration, transfer, promotion, and dispatch of clerks in Los Angeles In addition, the court required the registration of a number of women and casual clerks to the longshore B list. The court further ordered that all future longshore and clerk registration contain 25 to 30% women.

C O U R T O R D E R S
C L E R K B L I S T I N L O S A N G E L E S

A clerk B list will be set up in Los Angeles containing a certain number of women and casual clerks. Finally all future transfers from longshore to clerk after the present 108 men will have to be mostly women.

It is ironic that the court gained control over longshore registration in Los Angeles over sex discrimination charges, since Local 13 had probably the best record on the coast for bringing women into the work force. About 50 women are now registered and working as longshoremen in Los Angeles.

H O W C A N W E D E F E N D O U R U N I O N
A G A I N S T T H E C A P I T A L I S T C O U R T S ?

If any Local 10 brother had any illusions left that the courts were truly neutral where unions are concerned, these illusions should have finally ended when the Federal Court came down with an injunction prohibiting any action by Local 10 to protect hiring hall tractor and lift jobs against PMA's S.E.O. men. Since anything in print could be used by the court against Local 10, the MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN is limited in what kind of union defense we can suggest.

When any union local's contractual rights over registration, promotion, transfer, or dispatch are threatened by court action every local must see this as an attack on our union and share in the costs of legal defense. But let's not have any illusions; the velvet glove has come off the iron hand and the courts will increasingly be used by the capitalist state to weaken and restrict union action in defense of our jobs.

Trade unions were built and defended not by relying solely on smart lawyers, (they have their use), but by working class unity in action.

* * * * *

Back issues of the MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN are available. ILWU members from other locals can get the MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN by mail. Please send your address to:

Howard Keylor
1641 71st Ave
Oakland, CA 94621

Donations would be greatly appreciated.

Guest Editorial

My first reaction to the sharing by Local 10 of costs incurred in the Gibson Case was: hell no, I won't pay! Having suffered the chilling, oppressive, and humiliating effects of racism personally, my reaction was predictable. I have lost job opportunities myself, exactly for what Local 40 was accused of doing -- racial discrimination. We in Local 10 know that too few blacks have been selected as walking bosses, we are presently seeking to get more black representation. I reasoned: why should I pay for the privilege of Local 40 having discriminated against blacks?

I soon, however, began to expand my thinking into holistic rather than personalistic areas. The Williams case where Local 10 B men were fired was I suppose, of no interest to Local 40, but they had to share in our lawsuit. The hard, practical, reality is that Local 10 cannot afford to become isolated from the coast-wide concept of unity with other locals. We will need their help and they will need ours.

All ILWU Locals are reeling from the effects of automation, all suffer increasingly less work opportunities. The Steady Man system is a cancer that has the potential to destroy us all. We cannot afford the luxury of hating formerly all white Local 40 for their past practices pre-1967. We don't have to love them, but we must work together,because our jobs, our very livelihoods are much more important to us in the long run, than getting even for past discriminatory practices. The black men who sued Local 40 are now A men and have been for many years. Local 8, their longshore component in Portland, dealt with their racial problems by registering blacks in 1964, thus avoiding lawsuits.

The above comments on both the Golden and Gibson cases by Brother Keylor clearly show the problems, (especially the Golden Case), which can beset a Local, when it is invaded by the Courts. The Courts are into almost all aspects of Local 13's dispatch and hiring practices -- it could happen to us. I strongly recommend that the members of Local 10 pursue a course that will strengthen the bonds between Local 40 and Local 10 and all other ILWU locals. Help them, so that they can help us -- to fight the bosses and courts. A final comment: failure to abide by the constitution, which provides for pro-rata sharing of lawsuits Coast-wide, could result in Local 10 being placed into monitorship or in being excluded from future caucuses. The result would be more loss of control and isolation from other locals.

Fredric Addison
6771

LABOR DONATED

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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RE - ELECT KEYLOR TO EXECUTIVE BOARD

Election time in Local 10 - a time to stand back and look at the state of the Local, the Longshore Division, and the International union. In the past we've described a series of losses, continued weakening of the union, and the failure of leadership to show a way out. Is anything different this year? Yes: the basic structure and strength of the union is clearly in jeopardy and the International leadership appears to be ready for major give-aways.

The basic unity of the Longshore Division is being shattered by conflicts between locals over such issues as voluntary travel, transfers, registration, and lawsuits. Transfer of longshoremen to clerk status is still stuck on dead center in the Bay Area. The voluntary travel program is virtually dead; arbitrators have ruled that casuals in a port have dispatch priority over men traveling voluntarily. Some locals are insisting on Class C registered casuals. Many locals are being sued by outsiders. Locals are competing with each other for work. It was inevitable that without a union-wide program of united struggle against the employers that local officers in some cases would fall back on deals with their "own' employers for short term gains. Herman's '78 contract paved the way for these divisions by taking a historic step backward in establishing separate port steady man agreements.

Encouraged by this disunity, PMA companies have extended to the rest of the coast the practice of ordering men to work in violation of the contract. When men resist, the arbitrators move promptly to declare an "illegal work stoppage" and place penalties on men and locals under Section 17.61 of the contract. Union complaints of PMA contract violations die on the vine. Often it takes eight to nine months to get Coast Committee rulings on PMA violations and there are no real penalties for employer violations.

At the April 1981 Caucus, Keylor was successful in getting a resolution on deck calling for eliminating arbitration and the no-strike/work-as-directed clauses from the contract. While the motion was defeated, for the first time within my memory the caucus was forced to debate the fallacies of the grievance procedure. We need the unrestricted right to take job action over grievances.

The International officers haven't even called a Longshore Caucus to discuss this crisis. A caucus has the authority to impose policies on the locals and International officers, policies which could solve some of the most glaring problems ripping the Division apart.

I N T E R N A T I O N A L P R O P O S E S G I V E - A W A Y S

The scary thing is that Herman and company are floating proposals for give-aways. For example, the International is pushing for the union to give up JOINT REGISTRATION and allow PMA full power over all registration matters (hiring, promotion, transfers) under the pretext of avoiding lawsuits. While such a step would jeopardize the basis of the union's strength, the hiring hall, and would reopen the door to massive employer discrimination, it wouldn't even protect the union legally. Many unions which don't have joint registration are being sued.

The International's program of total reliance on PGP as the "cornerstone" of waterfront job security has laid the basis for further "give-aways". As many of us predicted, the PGP fund is running short; weekly payments will probably be cut about 30% this month. At the Tacoma Divisional meeting the International floated the proposal to take 20¢ from the contractual wage-increase of $1.25 per hour July 11, 1983 and use that money to beef up the PGP fund.

I have had great respect for Stan's stubborn courage in pursuit of his convictions but his present disorientation means that I can't give him unconditional electoral support. Vote for Stan Gow but watch what he does!

N E E D E D - A W O R K E R S G O V E R N M E N T

This edition of the Militant Longshoreman gives only a description of the state of the union. The economy is collapsing, world trade is declining, employers are on the offensive, unions are giving up wages and conditions, gains won in 1934 and since are in jeopardy. Only a determined fight can hope to protect us at least partially from the ravages of a capitalist system in crisis. This fight must be linked to opposition to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive through which Reagan intends to launch World War III. The U.S. government attempts to overthrow the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and to defeat the rebels in El Salvador, combined with the virtual blank check given the Israeli government in its naked aggression against the Palestinians in Lebanon, are examples of what this capitalist regime has in store for workers everywhere - mass murder and nuclear holocaust. We cannot separate "union" issues from "political" issues because not only is our livlihood at stake, but our lives are in jeopardy. To put an end to the threat, we need a workers government.

The Militant Longshoreman will never surrender the responsibility of calling things as they are and trying to build an alternative class struggle leadership in the unions. A first step is to rebuild the Militant Caucus in Longshore. A vote for Keylor is a vote for the program.

EXECUTIVE BOARD 30 - C

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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Re - Elect Keylor

Caucus and Convention Delegate

No Give - Backs

No Lay - Offs

In the last Militant Longshoreman the editor wrote about the critical state of the union, the need for an offensive program to save our jobs, and the danger of further disastrous concessions. These questions will come to a focus at the Longshore Division Caucus and the International Convention in April of this year. This issue of the Militant Longshoreman will talk about the two most critical dangers to the Longshore Division: 1) loss of jurisdiction through a combination of raiding and hiring non-union scabs and 2) lay-offs.

Given the economic crisis, the decline in foreign trade, and the cut-throat competition in shipping, we can expect an attack on our waterfront jurisdiction loading and unloading ships and barges. At Richmond Yard 3 last December, Operating Engineers Local 3 collaborated with Levin Terminals to raid our jurisdiction. We stood helplessly out in the muddy street while a barge was unloaded and loaded by non-ILWU and non-union people working unsafely and at substandard wages. But the stakes in Richmond are much higher than

one or more barges. Construction at Yard 3 is rapidly nearing completion as a coal exporting facility and Levin management is up front that the ILWU has no place in their plans. Utah, Wyoming, and Nevada coal shipments out of Northern California are expected to increase enormously during the next few years. Selby (among other places) is being talked about for building more loading facilities. The various companies getting into this lucrative business will be encouraged to bypass the ILWU if Levin gets away with it at Richmond. It's reported that Levin will start handling coal within 30 to 60 days; around 16 full-time jobs are immediately at stake.

Looking further down the road, we can expect businesses owning private docks to look around for non-PMA stevedoring outfits (or create them!) to load and unload vessels with non-ILWU and non-union labor. The jurisdiction sections of our contract protect our jobs only where PMA member companies are involved.

THE BEST WEAPONS:

MASS PICKETING AND UNION SOLIDARITY

How can we protect our jurisdiction? Mass pickets to stop scabbing and union solidarity to avoid isolation are the only weapons that will work. A handful of token "informational pickets" helplessly standing in the street while scabs drive past splashing mud on them won't protect our jobs. But (we are told) if we do try to stop scabs the courts will issue injunctions limiting us to a few token pickets and the cops will beat on us while they escort scabs past us. For the last 35 years the Taft-Hartley law has given judges the right to issue "restraining orders" against mass picketing and "secondary boycott" picket lines. Thousands of strikes have been lost when workers obeyed strike-breaking, union-busting court orders.

This doesn't have to go on. Even the government has been known to back off when faced with massive union action. Several years ago the State of Washington tried to break the Inland Boatmen's Union manning Puget Sound Ferries. A state-wide strike of all ILWU locals supported by the IBT shut down Puget Sound, made the State back down and saved the IBU. We must organize now for just such port-wide strike action the minute another non-ILWU cargo operation (barge or ship) begins in Richmond. The full power of our union to shut down the port and put thousands of men on the picket line will be necessary to make clear to the murderous Richmond cops that union busting and scabherding will not be permitted.

Even our token picketing last December hurt Levin; Teamster truck drivers refused to go through our picket lines. Several months earlier Teamster warehousemen at the giant Sealand CFS in Oakland went on strike and picketed the Sealand piers at 14th St. When the ILWU honored the picket lines, Sealand had to capitulate. We must take the lead in initiating and building such joint support actions to defend each other against take-aways and union-busting. When the ILA negotiates a contract this fall, we must make it clear that we will honor their picket lines like we did in 1977 but that this time we won't permit the courts to bust our solidarity action.

NO MORE TAKE-AWAYS!
NO GIVE-AWAYS

The editor warned in Militant Longshoreman #4 last month that it looks like we are being softened up for concessions. Our International officers have "negotiated" wage freezes in Warehouse and in Hawaii. They have alibied and justified two of the historic betrayals in longshore: M&M, in which we gave up manning scales and job action, and 9.43 where we allowed PMA to undermine the hiring hall. Herman and the other officers have no program to meet the jobs crisis in longshore; they can only point to PGP and the "no-layoff" clause of the contract. Contractual guarantees sure didn't protect the auto workers from wage and benefit cuts and Supplement III provides for layoffs "...should unusual circumstances develop..." The unusual circumstances are already here! After haunting the hall for four to five days without getting a job, longshoremen are beginning to mutter "we have too many men". Our leaders are not shouting as they should be "we have too few jobs". In the past they co-operated with PMA's attempt to export poverty by forcing hundreds of longshoremen to transfer out of this port. Now they squash and ridicule any aggressive program for jobs (manning scales, shorter work shift), leaving the field open to debating which concessions like lay-offs we should swallow.

Strike action will be necessary just to block takeaways. We ought to take a lesson from the Canadian Chrysler workers who three months ago struck on their own against give-backs. The UAW US-Canadian brass sabotaged and isolated the strike. Nonetheless, they and Chrysler were forced to reopen negotiations. Many of the proposed benefit cuts were withdrawn and Chrysler was forced to offer a substantially better although still inadequate wage package.

NEEDED:

A PROGRAM

TO UNITE TRADE UNIONS, UNEMPLOYED, BLACKS, YOUTH, RETIRED

Not even the most aggressive trade union program has a chance of success unless the unions take the lead in defending the livelihood of the 80% of unorganized workers, the over 10% who are unemployed, and the millions of retired, disabled and destitute who are suffering from cutbacks in social benefits.

The employers will try to hire the unemployed and destitute as scabs unless the unions organize them first. When the ILWU was founded in the strikes of 1934, the union took action successfully to win over casual dock workers who could have been recruited to scab. The six hour day was demanded and won not to give overtime pay for the last two hours but to provide jobs for all who had fought in the strike. The union controlled hiring hall was the membership's guarantee to each other that there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, age, political beliefs, union loyalty, etc.

The Teamster strikers in Minneapolis in 1934 went even further. They won the unemployed to their side by organizing IBT auxiliaries of unemployed workers and workers on federal public works relief projects. These auxiliaries, backed by Teamster solidarity actions , fought for higher relief benefits for the unemployed and living wages for federal WPA workers.

That's the basis for Point 5 of the Militant Longshoreman program which calls for: "Organize the unorganized and the unemployed. Labor strikes to stop cuts in Social Security, MediCal, Medicare."

Keylor will argue for such a program at the International Convention. It is a key for union survival and will be a critical step in forging an alliance between the employed and the poor. Such an alliance must be carried forward under the leadership of a workers party based on the unions to an actual fight to establish a workers government which will provide jobs for all through a planned socialist economy.

VOTE FOR STAN GOW

But watch

what he does

I had hoped Stan would think about what I'd said last month. Instead, he defended the new policies being pursued by the Militant Caucus and criticized his own fighting instincts. As I said, the Militant Caucus in Local 6 is largely pursuing extra-union issues and is paying less and less attention to union problems. Apparently discouraged by the near paralysis of Local 6, the constant giveaways engineered by the leadership (the last Master Contract included a 6 month wage freeze), and the inability of the membership so far to organize to halt these sellouts, the Caucus is turning its attention elsewhere, largely abandoning workers who are still employed and in the union. Recognizing the danger posed to our survival by Reagan's drive toward nuclear war and by the growth of the fascists around the fringes of U.S. society, the Militant Caucus is beginning to look for shortcuts. Downgrading the fact that the most effective opposition to the native fascists in the 1930's and to Roosevelt's war drive which brought the U.S. into World War II came from within unions led by class-struggle Trotskyist militants centered in the Teamsters in Minneapolis, the Caucus and their co-thinkers in Workers Vanguard are increasingly directing their organizing activity away from the unions and towards the unemployed, particularly in the ghettos.

THE UNION CAN BE CHANGED'

BUT THE MILITANT CAUCUS DOUBTS IT

Rather than openly stating their reorientation and defending it politically, they are trying to camouflage it by extending their correct historic opposition to the union bureaucracy into a blanket condemnation of the union. For example, they now say that because certain sections of the ILWU leadership are racist that it's OK to give backhanded support to court suits against the union (the Gibson Case).

(Why didn't Stan say he's for defending the hiring hall against the government and that instead of longshoreman fighting longshoreman over ever fewer jobs, we should strike together coastwise for 6 for 8, all skill jobs through the hall, manning scales on container ships and full A status to all B men now?) Also, Stan now says that the union is so rotten that he's just running for Caucus and Convention to expose Herman and the Caucus delegates rather than trying to win sections of the coast delegates over to a fighting program. Similarly the Militant Caucus doesn't want to fight for a South African cargo boycott because they think a limited strike would only serve to rebuild Herman's credentials.

SELF IMPOSED ISOLATION

Equally dangerous is the Militant Caucus' developing position that anyone is a hopeless case who is at this time pro-Democratic or supports the strategy of pressuring the Democratic Party. That makes it OK to boycott their activities (the anti-Nazi march in Oroville) or even to urge workers not to demonstrate against Reaganism under the present pro-Democratic Party union leadership. Stan's statement that "it was a bad thing that thousands of workers were out there that day because it strengthened the hands of our enemies" summarizes this developing abstentionist position. In effect Stan and the Militant Caucus have said: accept our leadership or we'll have nothing to do with you. This policy is out and out self-isolating sectarianism.

Until recently the Militant Caucus and their co-thinkers would have been in Oroville, (as I and other longshoremen were), carrying signs aimed at winning the anti-Nazi demonstrators over to the winning strategy of labor/black/latino defense guards instead of essentially abandoning Oroville's black community by dismissing their misdirected efforts at self-defense as "an adventure" (remember Taft, California, 1975?). Until recently the Caucus would have been in the labor parade with signs calling for a break with the Democrats and for a workers party as they did in last year's SF Solidarity Day with PATCO labor parade. This year Stan marched with the 50-70,000 other unionists who deeply resent Reagan's policies which breed unemployment, cuts in medical care, cuts in care for the aged, etc., but he marched with no sign distinguishing him from the pro-Democratic "Vote Labor for Jobs and Justice"; and when I was subjected to an anti-communist exclusion for carrying a sign calling for a workers party and specifically for a vote for the Spartacist candidates for SF Supervisor, Stan kept right on marching without a word of protest.

REDBAITING

MY ASS!

Now on the subject of "redbaiting". Many union members in both Local 6 and 10 know that Stan and I have long been supporters of the political program of the Spartacist League and its paper the Workers Vanguard, and know that in the past we were both supported by it. Last year in Militant Longshoreman #2 I referred to "differences... with some Caucus members on issues which did not involve the union or the Caucus program." These differences did involve the WV and the Spartacist League whose program I support but of whose practices I am increasingly critical.

Much of what Stan writes was, in the past, and is now influenced by the views of the WV. WV reports extensively on Stan's leaflets. I support their right to report on and attempt to influence the ILWU as I support this right for any tendency in the workers movement. But I don't support WV when they distort things in a misguided effort to make their organization and its genuinely socialist program look better any more than I support the People's World (with its reformist program and apologias for the liberal capitalists and their labor lieutenants) when the PW distorts things to make their organization look better.

STAN SHOULD FIGHT

I urge you to vote for Stan again for Caucus and Convention delegate -- but watch what he does. Stan and the Militant Caucus have shifted ground but they have by no means broken clearly from class struggle politics. Stan is still running on a supportable class struggle program. To regain his orientation toward fighting for a new leadership to build a fighting union which will work in the interests of all workers he'll have to fight first within the Militant Caucus and with their political co-thinkers in WV to return to their old policies. I hope he does fight and I hope that he succeeds.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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(415) 562-3308 | P.O.Box 43092, Oakland CA 94624-0092 | Labor Donated

BUILD AFL-CIO, IBT, ILWU MASS PICKETS TO SHUT DOWN GREYHOUND!

PREPARE FOR A GENERAL STRIKE!

The Greyhound strike is now at a turning point. The ATU membership's second massive rejection of the 25% takeaway contract means that Greyhound's initial strategy failed. Greyhound expected that by hiring some scabs and getting 10% of the runs going, the union members would be scared into going back to work. Less than 2% have succumbed to the pressure. The strike remains strong.

Greyhound's new announcement that it will attempt to resume full service can mean only one thing: it intends to break the strike physically, not only with scabs but with cops.

The only reason any buses are rolling in SF now is because Feinstein's cops attacked the picket line the first day of the strike. They made it clear that any further attempts to stop the buses would be met with more arrests and beatings. ILWU International President Herman together with the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council and the Teamster leaders arranged a "truce" with Feinstein which works completely against the strikers: no cops will be around so long as the union doesn't try to stop the scab buses! As Greyhound hires more scabs, this "truce" will mean that the trickle of scab buses will become a stream and then a river.

The holes in the picket lines must be plugged. The cops must be faced down and backed off. Labor has the power: there are tens of thousands of union members in SF alone. Every day mass pickets a thousand strong should surround and shut down the Greyhound terminal. Members of all unions, particularly transport workers from AC Transit, Muni, BART, the Teamsters, longshoremen, the railroads should organize to beef up the ATU picket lines.

Every worker has a stake in this strike. It is the most important attack on labor nationally since Reagan busted PATCO. The destruction of PATCO was a big step in Reagan's drive to force down the standard of living of U.S. workers in order to make them pay for his anti-Soviet war drive. Since PATCO's defeat, the airlines have attacked the airline unions one by one, rolling back wages and benefits, and, at Continental, firing everyone. If the machinists, flight attendants, baggage handlers, teamsters, etc. had stuck together -- if they had ignored and thrown out the union officers who ordered them to cross each other's picket lines -- PATCO would still exist today and the airline unions wouldn't be in a mess.

Labor must not be divided -- together, the unions have the power to defeat Feinstein and the other Democratic mayors and Republican governors who have ordered cop attacks on the strikers -- from Boston to Philadelphia to Tucson to Seattle. Feinstein is an enemy of labor. From Prop. L in 1974 to the defeated City Workers strike in 1976 and ever since, she has been in the forefront of anti-union attacks. But Feinstein has twice been beaten by forces

with far less strength than the unions'. When Dan White was let off with manslaughter in 1978, her cops stood by, vastly outnumbered by gays vividly demonstrating their anger. In 1980, when the Nazis tried to celebrate Hitler's birthday at SF City Hall, a coalition of unionists, blacks, latins, Jews, gays and socialists initiated by the Spartacist League, announced they would mobilize thousands strong to run the Nazis out -- and Feinstein suddenly changed her mind about providing 500 blue uniformed stormtroopers to protect the Hitlerites. Feinstein like most northern Democratic politicians is dependent on working class and minority votes to keep in office and is therefore susceptible to mass pressure.

The ILWU, AFL-CIO and Teamster leaders won't take the necessary action. Right now they are honoring each other's picket lines. They realize that if too many more unions are smashed they won't have the dues base to pay their businessmen's salaries nor the political leverage to get themselves appointed to city and county jobs. But they'll make a deal at the strikers' expense at a moment's notice. They caved in to Moscone, Feinstein & Co. in '76 First, they threatened a general strike. Then they ran like scared rats. Now they are at it again. Two weeks ago -- Nov. 17 -- Jimmy Herman called longshore local 10 officers to get their agreement to participate in a one day general strike to support the Greyhound strikers. Armed with Local 10's (and probably other union's) agreement, Herman, the AFL-CIO and Teamster leaders marched into Feinstein's office. They "won" a "truce" which keeps the scab buses going and they got the much publicized Feinstein letter to Reaganite Deukmejian! The tokenism of this threat was proved when Addison and Keylor put a motion on the floor to mobilize longshoremen to the Greyhound picket lines and the local 10 officers ruled it out of order. Have Herman & Co. forgotten where Plumber's Union leader Mazzola's weakness ended him in 1976? Right smack in Feinstein's jail!

The ILWU's recent strike in Richmond shows there's another way -- a way to win. When Levin Terminals tried to bring in outside labor to steal our jobs; when the International officers ruled our strike illegal and our business unionist local officers vacillated -- we massed more than 1200 strong in Richmond. Our union backed off the notorious Richmond killer cops. In solidarity, we shut down all Bay Area ports despite our contract which said we couldn't. Our action beat the injunction, stopped the union busting, won a union contract, and stopped Levin's bid to take the auto work, container, and break bulk cargo from longshoremen.

That's what's needed with Greyhound. If Feinstein's cops attack the pickets, the whole city should be shut down. Nationally, a SF general strike could spark a needed solidarity strike of all the transport unions to support the ATU.

A SF general strike could bring the unemployed to our side by fighting for a shorter work week at no loss in pay to create jobs and by demanding full restoration of all cuts in city, county and state medical and welfare payments.

The way to maximize the chance of winning a general strike is to elect a strike committee representing all unions. This centralized strike committee would run the strike, oust the timid pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats and smash their alliance with the capitalist Democratic Party.

Fred Addison
Howard Keylor

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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Re - Elect Keylor (36-A)

to Executive Board

Build A Fighting Union

"What's going to happen with our contract?"

That's the question asked dozens of times a day on the waterfront. Everyone sees the U.S. employers demanding and getting wage cuts and contractual take-aways all down the line. The army of unemployed remains at a high level, no end of the depression is in sight, and the vicsiously anti-labor Reagan administration seems determined to make workers and minorities pay for the depression. On the other hand the organized labor movement, which has declined to less than 20% of the work force, has given only isolated and sporadic resistance to employer/government attacks.

The real question that needs to be asked (and answered) is, "What is the state of our union and what can we do about it?" Let's start by taking a quick look at the record for 1983. This newsletter pointed out last year that one of the most alarming symptoms of our weakness was the PMA's increasingly blatant violation of the contract on the job. At that time, 1982, the officers had tried in a limited way to resist employer contract violations. But no sooner were they re-elected when our officers appeared to collapse; now almost no resistance is offered. In fact, inexcusable concessions violating the contract are frequertly granted, such as permitting PMA companies to work past the contractual shift quitting time.

PMA ran two big tests on us this year, one coastwise and one locally. Coastwise occured when the reconvened Negotiating Committee met with PMA

to discuss the continuous 3-shift proposal. PMA dropped the three shift idea and proposed to reconstruct PGP eligibility and earnings so that a longshoreman's PGP would be based on his individual earnings. This divisive move, which would have drastically cut PGP for San Francisco longshoremen, was just narrowly rejected. PMA will undoubtedly try again this year.

Locally PMA demanded, and it looks like they will get, a drastic cut in gangs. This attack on the gang system came at the same time PMA was by-passing the gangs by ordering "unit gangs" or"make-up gangs" at the last minute on break bulk cargo. Instead of exposing PMA's sabotage of the gang system by refusing to dispatch these non-contractual "unit" and "make-up" gangs, the officers attempted to "negotiate" concessions and finally arbitrated the issue. Instead of defending the gang system so that we could go over to the offensive in 1984 and demand that gangs be used on container ships, the formula agreed to by the officers and the Executive Board spells the end of gangs in San Francisco.

The International and the Coast Committee gave no leadership or help to the local in resisting PMA during 1983. When they weren't "unavailable" their "advice" was usually limited to telling the local to put it in the grievance machinery. We all know what that means -- let the arbitrator decide!

RICHMOND PAAR 5 - THE MEMBERSHIP WILL FIGHT!

A year ago we warned in Militant Longshoreman #5 that Levin's threat to our job jurisdiction could only be met by shutting down the port, mass picketing of Paar 5 (old Richmond Yard 1), getting support of other maritime unions, and ignoring injunctions. When the membership saw the threat to their jobs materialize that's exactly what they did! Levin was stopped cold in their attempt to take auto, container, and break bulk cargo out from under our jurisdiction. Local 10 membership proved that when they see a threat clearly they stand ready to put up one hell of a fight.

As the Militant Longshoreman has been pointing out (and the Longshore Militant before that) the union lacks and needs a class-struggle leadership that knows what needs to be done, has a strategy for getting it, and has confidence in the rank and file to fight. Our local officers, who probably had good intentions when they started, lack any of these qualifications and have failed dismally to give any real leadership. Just for example: Our local President Brother Carr showed his lack of confidence in the membership by ruling "out of order" more Executive Board and membership motions than any other presiding officer that the author can ever remember seeing in the ILWU. Brother Carr clearly feared the membership's judgement.

WHO CAN I VOTE FOR?

The above is the second most frequent question asked this season. Maybe the easiest way to approach an answer is to describe the main parts of a candidate's program that shows if he has some idea of what it takes for a union even to defend its' members, let alone wage an offensive battle for what workers need.

First - the union has to be willing to break out of the hand-cuffs and leg-irons imposed on us, take job action and strike action that may violate the work-now - arbitrate later provisions of the contract. Ask your favorite candidate whether he agrees that we have to be ready to defy court injunctions when the chips are down. Most of them -- if they are honest -- will tell you that they don't want to go to jail.

Second - Labor unity: No union can win alone. We have to rebuild the kind of labor unity that enabled unions in the 30s to organize millions of workers in the face of massive opposition from employers. That means mass picketing and refusing to handle scab or struck cargo.

Third - International working class solidarity. Corporations are organized worldwide but the labor movement is divided up by national boundaries. We need to take concrete actions to support workers outside U.S. borders. Your officers didn't even tell you about the Canadian longshore strike (and that is the same union) where cargo was being diverted to the Puget Sound area.

Fourth - Labor can only depend on its own working class strength and power. The government is hostile to labor and only grants concessions (unemployment insurance, Social Security etc.) to "keep the peace". Law suits that bring the courts and government into the union are extremely dangerous. At best they end up with a pro-capitalist judge rewriting your contract. At worst they can permanently strangle unions' ability to take the necessary strike actions to wring concessions from the employers.

Fifth - Workers need their own political party. None of our problems can be permanently solved under capitalism. But tailing after the Democrats, as our local and International officers do, leads them to avoid strikes and try to win a few crumbs from the pro-capitalist politicians.

When you look around the hall you see a bushel basket of candidates for union office who either duck these questions or come down on the wrong side of a winning class-struggle program. That's why the Militant Longshoreman is making no endorsements at this time.

OUR PROGRAM - 1984 CONTRACT

Before the February round of elections, which will elect Caucus delegates, another issue of this newsletter will describe what we will have to defend, what we need, and how we can get it. The program printed on the back page describes very briefly the position of Howard Keylor on the main issues facing longshoremen and other workers.

STAN GOW - WHAT NEXT?

We can expect Stan Gow and the Longshore/Warehouse Militant Caucus to again come out just before the election with a leaflet entitled "No Vote for Keylor - the fink, racist, would-be bureaucrat, Nazi lover, wife beater etc....". The union faces threats far too serious to waste much paper and ink in a pissing contest or to try eternally to deny and refute slanders and lies. We've already devoted more than enough newsprint to this purpose. Enough said.

KOREAN/CIA SPY PLANE
JIMMY HERMAN FLINCHES

Reagan is driving whole-hog toward a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. The U.S. labor bureaucrats are falling right in line behind the anti-communist hysteria generated by Reagan's provocations toward the U.S.S.R. Our union in the past (1950 - Korean war - for example) stood almost alone at times, resisting anti-communist war hysteria. But when the 007 Korean passenger plane (spy plane) was shot down President Herman flinched badly when he said in effect that the Soviet Union doesn't have the right (and the obligation) to defend it's most important Far Eastern military bases from provocative incursions. Instead of condemning the Los Angeles Local 13 Longshore leadership which refused to work a Russian ship and instead of attacking Reagan for trying to precipitate World War III, Jimmy gave back-handed support to Reagan's anti-Soviet crusade painting the Soviet Union as a brutal, satonic, evil empire. To their credit Canadian and Mexican longshoremen continued to work Russian ships.

We would remind Jimmy Herman that PATCO's kissing Reagan's ass didn't save the Air Controllers union from being smashed and its' leaders from being jailed.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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NO GIVE-AWAYS! — NO TAKE-BACKS!
MANNING SCALES!
8 HOURS PAY FOR A 6 HOUR SHIFT!

HOWARD KEYLOR 33-B
CAUCUS & CONVENTION

PREPARE FOR A STRIKE IN 1984!

Local 10 will elect 10 Caucus delegates this Friday, February 10. These delegates (plus the Local President) will represent the Local at a Coast Contract Caucus, probably in March. That Caucus will put together contract demands and strategy for the 1984 negotiations with PMA. After negotiations the Caucus will recommend either acceptance or rejection of the proposed contract. Which levers you pull for this office is about the most important vote a member can cast in affecting his and the union's future.

WILL PMA DEMAND TAKE-AWAYS?

It's too early to predict whether PMA will follow the national pattern and demand direct give-backs in contractual guarantees on wages, seniority, job security etc. However, there are four areas in which the editor thinks that PMA will press hard to undermine our union.

PMA will undoubtedly reintroduce their demand that a longshoreman's PGP will be based in the future on his earnings for actual jobs worked in a previous base period (like unemployment insurance). This could put a real hardship on ports like San Francisco. Even if all dispatch categories were abolished and all longshoremen were available 7 days a week, the lack of jobs (and earnings) would still result in reduced PGP payments in San Francisco to all except steady skilled men. The most immediate result of such punitive contract language would be PMA pressure to reduce categories (combine Dock and Hold Boards for example) and increase compulsory availability (signing in the hall every day - no stop line).

Partially disabled and older longshoremen would be the first to suffer since to maintain their maximum earnings (and PGP) these men would be compelled to accept steel and lashing jobs or suffer a drastic cut in their own individual PGP.

A BUY-OUT?

Along with reduced PGP partially disabled men will probably be faced with pressure to accept a cash payment (Buy-out) to give up their books. Just as in U.S. capitalist society as a whole, where 25% of the workers (including a high proportion of blacks) are being more and more openly treated as unwanted, excess human beings, PMA wants to get rid of older and disabled welfare recipients (men drawing PGP) in the longshore work force.

TRAVEL TIME/HIRING HALL IN DANGER

There are also signs that PMA wants to eliminate most travel time by demanding an East Bay dispatch hall. We can also expect PMA to bring up their demand for a fully computerized dispatch eliminating any possible choice or selection of job, virtually abolishing union control of dispatch.

FUTURE TAKE-AWAYS ALREADY IN THE CONTRACT!

Many brothers ask the honest question, "If we can keep our contract as it is, without any give-backs, won't we be ok?". That's whistling in the dark, brother. PMA already has contract language that allows continuous future give-aways in manning, jobs, conditions, and earnings. For over 20 years language surrendering manning (1961), equalized earnings (1966 - steady skilled men - 9.43), "PGP abuse", "work as directed" and other sections have been added to the contract to give PMA all the weapons they need to continue taking away jobs and conditions. To add insult to injury Local 10 has been singled out to bear the full brunt o

the worst PMA stooges as arbitrators, Barsamian and Sutliff. That's why we urge Local 10 delegates to go into the Caucus with contract demands to take-back for the union powers that we once had to protect our members. Eliminate steady skilled men, "PGP abuse", "work now - arbitrate later" contract sections. Restore manning scales on all ship operations.

WANTED - A FIGHT FOR JOBS

"Bay Area Tonnage Up - Jobs and Earnings of Longshoremen Down!" That could be the headline on a yearly "state of the union" report. And it's not what some demagogic politicians shouted in the past: "Los Angeles is taking our work!", "All the ships are going to Seattle!" Brother Harry Bridges gave away manning, the stevedoring companies mechanized, the world's shippers went over to bigger and ever more efficient (less men) container ships. The hour is getting damned late for us. If we don't get manning and a shorter work shift in 1984 the next contract could see us facing a lay-off.

PRESIDENT JIMMY HERMAN - RUNNING SCARED

Anyone who pays close attention to Brother Herman's editorials and speeches can see that he's running scared. Jimmy has done everything possible to avoid a conflict with the employers. Meanwhile he flies around making militant sounding speeches threatening to shut down the country. Probably the most disgusting picture in the editor's mind is Jimmy Herman standing in front of the door of Greyhound on December 3 in San Francisco trying to disperse an angry crowd of pickets.

TO STRIKE OR NOT TO STRIKE

Brothers ask us, "Why do you say in your election card 'Prepare for a strike in 1984!' when you know we don't have any leadership?" These brothers remember how Brother Bridges and the international officers sabotaged the 1971/1972 strike. What these brothers forget is that the 1971 Caucus in its last minutes turned over all powers to run the strike to the Negotiating Committee dominated by Bridges, Herman and the international officers! If you're really serious about defending your jobs and your union you have to be willing to prepare for a strike. That also means taking control of the strike away from the mis-leaders in the International and the Local. We will have more to say later abou elected strike committees and how to win a strike. The defensive

victory we won last June at Richmond Levin Terminals Paar 5 shows what can be accomplished when the membership begins to organize.

NO CONTRACT EXTENSIONS - NO MASTER CONTRACT UNTIL ALL MISCELLANEOUS CONTRACTS SIGNED WITH PMA

We've gotten damned little in our local miscellaneous contracts with PMA. Linemen, gearmen, coopers, sweepers, baggagemen haven't made any real gains in years - why? Because the International hastens to sign the Master contract with PMA before local agreements are reached leaving us with no strike power to compel PMA concessions. The only way to break out of this no-win strategy is to start local negotiations early. When PMA stalls tell them: "No contract extensions of local or master, past July 1! No contract - no work! No Master contract signed until local contracts agreement reached!" Only by linking Local and Coast contracts together with the threat of a strike can we get PMA to negotiate seriously on the miscellaneous contracts.

STAN GOW - WHAT NOW?

Last month we made no written endorsement of Brother Stan Gow for Executive Board. After we had published issue No. 7 of this Newsletter, Brother Gow distributed his campaign leaflet which completely omitted for the first time since 1974 any itemized program for the union. When Gow was asked whether his program was dropped in order to duck the question of whether he still opposes law-suits against the union Stan (and the organizer of the Militant Caucus, Brother Woolston) replied that Stan still opposes bringing the capitalist government, courts, and agencies into the union.

On that basis we advised members to vote for Brother Gow even though we remain increasingly critical of his actions. Howard Keylor will vote for Stan Gow for Caucus Delegate. We recommend that while brothers also vote for Stan that they urge him when elected to work with Brother Keylor at the Caucus in fighting for Local 10 and the Longshore Division membership's needs.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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NO JOB SECURITY! OLDER & DISABLED MEN VICTIMIZED
NO SAFETY!
NO PROTECTION AGAINST PMA CONTRACT VIOLATIONS !

VOTE NO!
PREPARE TO STRIKE!

This contract is worse than the editor expected. I did expect that a Negotiating Committee dominated by the International officers and without any strike demands would get no real improvements in job security, safety, or grievance procedure. But I was unpleasantly surprised that Herman's tactic of divide and conquer (exemplified by separate steady men contracts in the three major locals) while piecing off different sections of the Division with minor concessions, would be even more successful this time around. The Northwest and Southern California got their stop gap concessions and San Francisco is brutally victimized.

JOB SECURITY

The April Caucus defeated by one vote Local 10's demand for a shorter work shift at no loss in pay to create jobs. The resolutions passed for manning on container operations and no extended shifts got strictly nowhere during negotiations. The Northwest and Southern California zones got expanded voluntary paid travel rights, but Local 10 is still locked into a zone with only two small river ports to which we can travel. We can expect those ports which are outside our zone and have extra work to tighten up and further limit the number of San Francisco longshoremen who can travel there as jointly recognized visitors.

P G P

So where does that leave us? Depending almost entirely on PGP, the crumbling "cornerstone" of job security. Local 10's demand for a "make whole" on the PGP shortfall from the last contract and our demand to eliminate Section 20.7, "PGP Abuse", were rejected by the April Caucus. The demands passed by the Caucus for a weekly 40 hour PGP were dropped. Also to bite the dust in negotiations was the demand that men not involved directly in a contract beef were not to be dinged for a weeks PGP.

Instead, what we got was a 38 hour PGP with restrictive rules tailored to punish Local 10. All men will have to maintain 50% of the average port hours in order to keep from being coded out of PGP. Men on slow-moving boards will be forced to haunt the hall seven days a week, day and night, in a desperate attempt to keep their hours up. Older and partially disabled men will have to take a dispatch to steel in the hold and lashing to keep up their availability (or to make a living income if "coded out" of PGP). If a Class B longshoreman or a casual takes a lashing or steel job every A man on the Dock or Hold Board who isn't squared off and doesn't take those jobs will lose his PGP for the week. Several hundred men will be forced out of the industry by these rules. Especially hard hit will be men on the Dock Preference Board who have to make 50% of Port hours to stay on PGP.

Every longshoreman will be desperately competing with every other man for jobs. We can end up fighting each other instead of PMA.

COPS FOR THE PMA?

The new sections 20.2131 through 20.21313 will lead to men snitching on each others "outside income" and place the union in the position of acting as cops for PMA witchhunting. Our officers will be so preoccupied with hearings and appeals from this section that they won't be able to get out onto the job.

HEALTH & SAFETY

None of the Coast Caucus' Health and Safety demands were negotiated. Instead, a committee with no power will meet with PMA after the contract is signed to update the safety code. PMA's push to get the ships out can only result in even more crippling accidents especially on steel and container operations.

GRIEVANCES/ARBITRATORS

The April Coast Caucus ducked the problems represented by a "grievance procedure" that doesn't allow longshoremen to protect their conditions. Unlike previous Caucuses, this one didn't even formulate a demand to allow longshoremen to stop work when PMA superintendents order men to work in clear violation of the contract.

That same Caucus overwhelmingly defeated delegate Keylor's amendment to eliminate arbitrators and arbitration completely from the contract. Instead the Caucus passed two resolutions calling for termination of an arbitrator's term of office at the end of each contract. Even this timid and useless demand was dropped during negotiations.

The only addition to the grievance machinery, new section 17.57, can be used against the union forcing us to strictly abide by Sutliff's rulings

while we wait out the interminable process of appealing to the Coast Committee.

HOURS

Caucus demands to eliminate extended shifts except for emergencies were likewise dropped. Also disappeared from this contract package was the demand to tighten up on PMA's shift starting time.

What this Negotiationg Committee did was to make further concessions to PMA to allow a Container Freight Station to operate from 7:00 AM to 7:oo PM.

CONTAINER FREIGHT STATIONS

PMA was given a further concession on hours allowing them to stagger the CFS work week over <u>any</u> consecutive five day period and to stagger the lunch hour.

In what is a vain attempt to compete with non-union off-dock CFS operations the remaining job classifications will be wiped out, so that a super CFS utility man will throw cargo, do his own clerking, and drive equipment. This may even lead to a net loss of jobs for Locals 10 and 34.

Section 10 of the proposed CFS agreement eliminating the IBT swamper/lumper could push us into a bitter jurisdictional war with the Teamsters. A fight with the Teamsters is the last thing we need right now; the April Caucus endorsed a Coast Committee resolution to set up machinery for more and closer cooperation with the Teamsters.

STEADY SKILLED MEN

The Section entitled Steady Skilled Men is probably the most deceptive and confusing section of the agreement. Local 13 (Los Angeles) got increased crane and tractor training. L.A. also got some concessions on their equalization formula between Crane Supplement and Crane Board men.

What did Local 10 get? No training. All equalization language deleted from the contract. SEO Board in the hall eliminated; all 9.43 men back to their individual employer. PMA companies will be able to tighten up control over "their" steady skilled men.

The new contract language which is supposed to return tractors and lifts over five tons to the hall is both confusing and deceptive. Attempts to get clear explanations from the Negotiating Committee were met with evasions and bombastic oratory.

Here is how the editor interprets this contract section. (Remember: Sutliff will be making the contract interpretation!)

A) Steady Skilled Men can operate tractors, lifts, payloaders, and bulldozers to fill out their eight hour guarantee.

B) 9.43 men can <u>drive lifts on the ship</u> on all types of cargo including steel.

C) 9.43 men can operate <u>lifts on the dock</u> on Ro-Ro and "container operations". This probably means 9.43 on lifts moving containers where the ship has mixed break bulk/container cargo.

Since each PMA member company won't be able to use another company's steady skilled men (no SEO Board in the hall), each company will have an incentive to hire back more 9.43 men and to chisel wherever they can in using steady men in place of hall men.

The April Caucus voted down Keylor's motion to make the demand for elimination of all steady skilled men provisions from the contract a strike issue.

The Negotiating Committee was given a demand requiring that all crane-rated equipment mounted on a floating vessel be dispatched from the hall. Since this demand was dropped the door remains wide open for more 9.43 men operating back-hoes, whirleys, swinging booms, and any ships hoisting gear rated at 40 tons.

PENSIONS

Contrary to the Coast Committee recommendation (and Caucus action) nothing was done to even begin to consolidate the different levels of pension benefits for men already retired. In fact, beefing up the maximum years of service credit to 33 years for future retirees only increases the spread in pensions between men who retired earlier and men who will retire in the future.

For the first time part of pension increases (for retirees prior to July 1, 1984) will not have to be fully funded by PMA — as ERISA requires — but will be funded like welfare, from contract to contract, a move which if extended into the future will make our pensions less secure.

COULD WE HAVE GOTTEN MORE?

The unions "negotiating posture" sent a signal of weakness to PMA. Not one key demand was designated a strike issue. The leadership did not prepare the rank-and-file for a strike. The Negotiating Committee was not armed with a strike vote. Instead, president Herman spread scare tactics as to how weak we are and how bad the anti-labor climate is under Reagan.

PMA was never told "July 1 — no contract — no work". The Negotiating Committee was top heavy with five International officers. The four large locals had only one member each on the Negotiating Committee.

The shipping lines have been making money and were not prepared for a real solid strike. PMA got off easy by offering money to a steadily diminishing work force.

FUTURE CONCESSIONS?

Jimmy Herman has been throwing out hints that we might have to make increased concessions to some of our employers to help them compete with non-union operations like Seaways. That's probably why in the face of an aggressive attack by Crowley on the ILA, Masters Mates and Pilots, and the Inland Boatmen-ILWU the International pushed concession bargaining between IBU and Crowley, and was largely responsible for the obscene spectacle of longshoremen going through the IBU tankermen's picket lines at the army base on June 21st.

WHAT CAN WE DO?
VOTE NO AND PREPARE FOR A STRIKE!

It's remotely possible that if the contract is turned down that a few concessions could be wrung from PMA simply by reopening negotiations. But it would be dishonest not to tell the membership that only a determination to fight accompanied by preparations for a brawl can get us even a part of what we need.

It looks as if Herman has manipulated the leadership of other sections of the Longshore Division to make Local 10 the scapegoat. Local 10's Caucus delegation voted 7-4 against the contract. This is the largest Caucus delegate no vote since the '71 strike. A serious and determined Local leadership would send rank-and-file delegates all over the coast immediately in an attempt to win at least 41% against the contract in the voting which takes place July 21-27. The delegates would talk directly to longshoremen and clerks appealing to them for a common fight for jobs through manning and a shorter work shift. Defeating the contract on the first round would give us breathing space to reorganize for a real fight.

The hour is late. In fact when the Executive Board discussed the contract on June 28 and the discussion finally got around to what to do, the meeting dissolved before a vote was taken on the proposal to send people coastwise. This should have been done much earlier, even before the April Caucus, and at the latest after we learned what was in the contract!

It's better to fight for what you want and need — and maybe not get it, than to ask for what you don't want — and get that (loosely paraphrasing Eugene Debs).

VOTE NO!

PREPARE FOR A STRIKE!

RECALL THE NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE!

HOLD NEW CAUCUS ELECTIONS COASTWISE!

ELECT STRIKE COMMITTEES
FROM ALL BOARDS & GANGS AND WORKING LOCATIONS
TO RUN THE STRIKE!

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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(415) 562-3308 PO Box 43092, Oakland, CA 94624-0092 Labor Donated

PROTEST ARMY OCCUPATION OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS AND KILLING OF OVER 80 BLACKS

At the September membership meeting I tried to raise a motion in support of black South African goldminers whose strikes for union recognition were being suppressed with at least eight miners killed by police. I intended to bring the same motion to the following Executive Board meeting, September 27, but - as often happens - there was no quorum, and the meeting was cancelled.

The situation in South Africa is now escalating. At least 80 blacks have been killed, and the South African army is being openly mobilized to occupy the black townships. I urge brothers to support my efforts to put the following updated motion on the floor at next Thursday's membership meeting.

MOTION: Local 10 protests the killing of eight black South African goldminers who were recently on strike for union recognition. We protest the killing of over 80 blacks during the current mass protests against the phony elections which exclude blacks. We further protest the mobilization of the South African army to occupy black townships.

In order to dramatically express our solidarity with the mass rebellion of South African blacks we will not work the next Nedlloyd Line ship carrying South African cargo to the Bay Area. We appeal to the rest of the coast to join us in this action, as they did in our successful 1977 boycott of a Nedlloyd Line ship.

UPDATE:

Local 10 Executive Board unanimously passed this motion Thursday night, October 11.
Come to the membership meeting Thursday, October 18, and vote for final approval of the motion!

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No. 11 | Published by Howard Keylor | November 27, 1984
(415) 562-3308 | P.O. Box 43092, Oakland, CA 94624-0092 | Labor Donated

SOUTH AFRICAN CARGO STOPPED COLD!
LET'S KEEP IT THAT WAY!
EXTEND THE BOYCOTT COASTWISE!

Since Saturday morning Bay Area longshoremen have refused to unload South African cargo at Pier 80. This boycott of cargo to and from South Africa stands in militant solidarity with the struggle of South African blacks against the murderous apartheid regime and in support of the powerful stay-away strikes waged by the black trade unions. In support of the courageous actions of Local 10 members, hundreds of people from labor, socialist and community organizations demonstrated at Pier 80 in our support and got largely favorable TV coverage for our action.

Saturday morning the gangs for the Nedlloyd Kimberley were not filled, so the ship was not worked at all. Saturday night the gangs discharged Australian cargo but when they got to the South African cargo the brothers and sisters refused to work it. They were fired for "failure to work as directed".

Monday the PMA demanded that the union be found guilty of an "illegal work stoppage". Instead, the arbitrator ruled against the men who refused to handle the cargo for reasons of consciousness. Nothing is left on the ship except South African cargo and every longshoreman dispatched has refused to handle it.

The employer has now two choices: either to pursue the arbitration procedure and then seek a court injunction to try to force us to work the cargo or to move the ship on to another port.

If the courts issue an injunction we should simply ignore it. An injunction is just a piece of paper. Our brothers and sisters in South Africa almost daily stand up to army and police bullets, beatings, arrests, mass firings, and deportation. The capitalist courts are our enemies as they've proven again and again when we are dragged into court as in the Gibson and Golden cases. In the case of South African cargo, with the Reagan regime closely and openly allied to the apartheid butchers, a judge can easily be found to order us to work the cargo.

But we proved during the Levin strike in Richmond that injunctions can be beaten. When the employer hired non-ILWU labor to steal our jobs, we responded to the injunction and to the presence of Richmond's racist killer cops with mass pickets and by shutting down every ship in the Bay Area. The employer backed down and the injunction was quickly forgotten.

If Nedlloyd moves the Kimberley on to another port, Local 10 should immediately request that the other ILWU locals honor and join our action by refusing to work the South African cargo. They joined us during the week long cargo boycott in 1977 in support of the Soweto uprising. And our action could also inspire solidarity from the heavily black East Coast ILA.

We should also request the groups, which demonstrated in our support at Pier 80, build similar demonstrations up and down the coast wherever the Nedlloyd Kimberley puts in.

So far, International President Herman has given us no real support. There is no middle ground. Either Brother Herman supports our courageous and principled stand or he is giving ground to Reagan, and the system of apartheid which Reagan supports. Our membership should demand Jimmy Herman's public support.

Our act, like that of Australian maritime workers who have refused to work ships bound for South Africa, is a powerful demonstration of internationalism. It is concrete acts of solidarity like this, not ineffectual divestment schemes,which can aid the South African working class in smashing apartheid and establishing a black-centered workers government.

Labor's ability to wage solidarity strikes is a powerful political weapon. If U.S. unions had struck against the Vietnam war, the U.S. government would have been forced to withdraw much earlier. From continuing actions in support of the South African masses, to a general strike in defense of San Francisco restaurant workers as requested by Local 2, to a coastwise port shut down if Reagan invades Nicaragua; these are actions which by defending all workers will give us strength and make a reality the ILWU motto "An Injury to One Is An Injury to All".

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No. 12 | Published by Howard Keylor | 30 November 1984
(415) 562-3308 | P.O. Box 43092, Oakland, CA 94624-0092 | Labor Donated

Brothers and Sisters:

Our boycott of the South African cargo aboard the Nedlloyd Kimberley is growing in support and media coverage every day. The rank and file of Local 10 who are refusing to unload this cargo are setting an example for trade unionists across America. We are offering concrete support to the heroic struggles of the black trade unionists battling the racist apartheid regime in South Africa.

I am a member of the longshore committee in support of the South African boycott, which is coordinating the action. The members of this committee all have our own ideas on many different subjects. But we all support the action, and agree that the South African cargo at the Nedlloyd Kimberley should not be unloaded. I know that many brothers have great respect for Martin Luther King who was quoted in a leaflet issued in the name of the committee. Personally I do not endorse his political ideas or his Christian pacifism. I believe in the power of the working class organized to fight for its own interests, for the abolition of racism and all forms of oppression and exploitation, and for the establishment of a workers government. Nonetheless, despite my differences with other members of the committee on Dr. King and other questions, I intend to continue to work with the committee to build this fight and spread it coastwise.

I urge all Local 10 members to stand solid behind this action, come hell or high water. We can beat court injunctions as we showed with the mass pickets at Levin in Richmond last year. At that time the local and international bureaucrats unsuccessfully tried to block our action. Despite them, we won a defensive victory for Local 10. As soon as an injunction comes down many of those who today halfheartedly support this boycott will want to deep six the action. We must be ready for that, as we were in Richmond in 1983. Our anti-apartheid boycott is an issue which has tremendous appeal in the black community, among working people and indeed all decent people. It can grow -- we can win!

COME TO PIER 80, EVERY DAY, AT 7:30 AM AND 6:30 PM!
STAND FAST!
DEFY ALL INJUNCTIONS!

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No. 13 | Published by Howard Keylor | 7 January 1984
(415) 562-3308 | PO Box 43092, Oakland, CA 94624-0092 | Labor Donated

Re-Elect Keylor (40-D) to Executive Board

From Defending Our Jobs at Levin to Opposing the Contract to Boycotting South African Cargo He's Had A Strategy to Win!

Local 10 Shows the Way

Our eleven day boycott of South African cargo has done this Local proud. We pointed the way to effective international labor solidarity by reviving the "hot cargo" tactic. The unions used this tactic throughout the organizing drives of the 1930s and the bitter battles in 1946-48 to isolate struck employers. By refusing to transport or handle cargo from an anti-union employer workers even thousands of miles away and at widely dispersed locations could exert pressure to help other unions or oppressed workers. That's why the infamous Taft-Hartley law passed in 1947 made "secondary boycotts" illegal. Our dramatic and effective action brought hundreds down to the docks in our support. We won the admiration of tens of thousands, showing that when the labor movement acts against apartheid the black community and trade unionists will rally to its support. We sparked a wave of anti-apartheid protests in the Bay Area which are still continuing, and we proved that concrete labor solidarity can have vastly greater impact than picketing embassies. Our union's action was the longest political strike in memory on the West Coast. When the next ship carrying South African cargo comes in; if Reagan invades Nicaragua; or the next time the bosses try to break a union like PATCO or the Hotel and Restaurant workers, we should wage a solidarity strike again, appealing to other unions to join us in mass strike action. Actions which defend other workers give us strength and make real the ILWU motto "An Injury to One Is An Injury to All".

At the same time, we should face squarely the shortcomings in the boycott, particularly since the Local is about to elect its officers for the next year. The South African cargo was finally unloaded, the Local lost PGP, ILWU-IBU member Jack Heyman was suspended by Crowley Maritime for approximately two weeks as a result of his participation in the embargo, and Local 10 is under a preliminary injunction which will be used against us when we act again.

WE COULD HAVE DEFEATED THE INJUNCTION

None of this had to happen. If Local 10 had officers and an Executive Board worthy of our fighting membership, officers willing to risk jail if necessary, we could have won outright. From the moment the membership voted to act, our officers should have been inviting union and community support and publicly demanding that International President Herman sanction the action and extend it coastwise. Instead, our officers were telling the media that our action was unauthorized and individual. Our officers should have sent delegations to the other ports to meet with other local officials and to appeal directly to all longshoremen to refuse to work the blood stained cargo. When PMA proposed to unload the Nedlloyd

Kimberley in Stockton, Local 54 told them to go to hell. With support like that, and backed by the thousands of Bay Area residents who wished us success, we could have defeated the injunction, like we did at Levin. Instead, the officers and the Executive Board caved in and ordered us to work the Nedlloyd Kimberley.

Make no mistake about it: the PMA and the capitalist government were scared. They recognize how deeply black Americans feel about the oppression in South Africa and how popular our union action was. That's the main reason why they were so slow in arbitrating and in imposing an injunction, and that's why so far the fines/damages have been suspended. When the continuing rebellion of the black trade unions and the South African masses stirs us to act collectively again, it is precisely that community support, properly organized in our defense, and spread to other unions which can help us smash the injunction.

Some union members, particularly Brothers Leo Robinson and his closest supporter, Dave Steward, who played an important role in the boycott, honestly believe that Local 10 has no choice but to give in to the injunction. The difference here is that they don't understand that the working class' ability to stop the economic machinery of the capitalist system and their government makes us uniquely powerful, whether in the U.S. or in South Africa. Leo and Dave have a commitment to individual acts of consciousness and a belief that community action can force the multinational corporations to forgoe their enormous profits extracted from the super exploited black South African workers. This belief is combined with a lack of confidence that the organized labor movement can lead political struggles to victory, and can be won to successfully defy and defeat government/court repression.

For the same reason, during contract fights over the past ten years brother Leo Robinson in particular has failed to go beyond calling for a no vote, and has refused to advocate organizing coastwide strike action to defeat bad contracts and get what we need.

PEOPLE'S WORLD NO-WIN STRATEGY

If Leo and Dave want to engage in something more effective than symbolic acts of protest, they should reexamine their strategy and especially that of their allies around Archie Brown and the People's World. Their strategy of pressuring the liberal Democratic wing of the capitalist class rather than trying to overturn the capitalist system has led the working class to disastrous defeats for the past 50 years. The People's World supporters played a large role in sabotaging an attempt to continue the boycott by other means after the Local Executive Board had agreed Monday night, December 3, to capitulate to the injunction. When I and others encouraged the several hundred supporters present at Pier 80 Tuesday morning to set up an effective picket line and shut down the pier, Franklin Alexander panicked the crowd by telling them that they faced 6 months in jail. People's World supporters acted in conjunction with the SFPD to open up the picket line when we had the trucks stopped and the pier effectively closed. They managed to turn the picket line into an impotent demonstration, and thereby destroyed it.

JIMMY HERMAN STABS LOCAL 10 IN THE BACK - AGAIN!

International President Jim Herman should be thrown out of office for his back-stabbing. During the Levin strike, he sided with the employers. During the ILWU-IBU tankerman's strike, he ordered longshoremen to cross the picket line. During the South African boycott he agreed with the PMA that our action was an "illegal work stoppage" in violation of the contract, and thereby Herman laid the legal basis for PMA being able to get their apartheid injunction. Recently, in describing Herman's disapproval of

cargo boycott actions, the Pacific Shipper (December 24, 1984), an employers magazine, said: "Despite the fact that it was a local of his union that ignited the controversy in the Bay Area, Mr. Herman believes that the 'proper place' for demonstrations against South African apartheid are at that nation's consulates, or by way of organized public demonstrations of limited duration." We haven't noticed him getting arrested along with the other labor "leaders". While all actions against the apartheid regime are welcome, particularly those in support of the labor movement, it's clear that many of the congressmen, clergymen and labor bureaucrats picketing the embassy are motivated by a desire to clean up the image of the Democratic Party after the Mondale fiasco.

DIVESTMENT AND PROTECTIONISM

As I said in Militant Longshoreman No. 12: "Some brothers favor a policy of divestment of shares of corporations which invest in South Africa. Personally I regard this as ineffective and potentially even counterproductive. It also creates the illusion that the big banks and investments houses, which make billions of dollars of blood-money from the racist exploitation of black labor in South Africa, can be pressured into becoming friends of the black masses in that racist hell-hole. The only kind of 'divestment' which I'm interested in pushing is the divestment of the white supremacist rulers and their international investors by the black workers of South Africa and the establishment of a black-centered government.

"Protectionism is another issue where there are differences. Some brothers think that we shouldn't unload South African steel because so many American steel workers are laid off. This action is aimed solely at providing a blow against the apartheid regime. That is why we shouldn't unload that steel. The answer to the unemployment of U.S. steel workers is not to side with the shareholders of U.S. Steel etc. to export unemployment, and thus divide American workers from workers of other countries. It is by fighting with steel workers and other sections of the labor movement against the banks and the corporations for a shorter work week at no loss in pay. Nonetheless, despite my differences with other members of the committee on these and other questions, we can all agree to work together to build this fight and spread it coastwise."

STAN GOW CALLS LONGSHOREMEN "SCABS"

Finally, Stan Gow merits special mention. As ILWU members are aware, Stan and I worked together for years. Until now, I have urged longshoremen to vote for him despite my criticisms, because on paper his program was largely correct. However, his actions during the boycott have drawn the line. Together with Peter Woolston and other Militant Caucus supporters in Local 6, and fully backed by the Spartacist League, Stan did everything he could to divide, confuse and disrupt our action.

We noted in Militant Longshoreman No. 4 that Stan and the Militant Caucus had begun to abandon their orientation to the organized working class. During his El Salvador stunt Stan substituted himself for the union with his one-longshoreman picket line, a sign of growing disorientation and disbelief that union members could be won to action. But at least he was on the right side on the El Salvador question, and I defended him. Now his actions served to split and confuse the most important political strike in years.

On Saturday night, November 24, he and a handful of others picketed the Nedlloyd Kimberley despite the membership's decision to work the Australian cargo. When Keylor originally opened the discussion on the South African boycott he urged that longshoremen refuse to work the ship, but when it became clear that the overwhelming majority concensus of the membership was to not work the South African cargo he found that quite sup-

portable, and actively worked to make the boycott a success. Stan says that's "treachery"! Success is treachery! -- Sabotage is militance! Stan and the Militant Caucus attempted to counterpose their fake-militant picket line to the real activity of the union. Stan and his friends were aiming to split the union action that should have been automatically supported by all genuine labor militants. In fact, the Militant Caucus and Spartacist supporters became so deranged that they called the unionists who came out to carry out the South African boycott "scabs", and those in the crowd who were supporting them "racists". Stan's attitude was: adopt my program or I spit on you -- even though you've stopped the South African cargo cold. Then when the injunction came down, after a lot of bluster about defying the injunction, Stan and his cohorts refused to join the picket line which I and many others had established in order to try to force the Nedlloyd Kimberley to leave port.

Stan makes much of the difference between working the cargo and working the ship. Why? He knows it's just a matter of tactics. The membership decided on what they thought would be most effective. After two days the ship sat perfectly idle anyway. In 1974 the union refused to handle Chilean cargo but worked the ship. Stan and I helped to initiate the action and considered it a real victory. In 1977 we argued for more extensive action but still supported and helped build the South African cargo boycott. What's new this time?

SLANDERS AND LIES

Similarly Stan accused the union, and me in particular, of treachery around the Nedlloyd Kyoto off-loading pig iron at Richmond Yard 1. First of all, the ship was diverted, and we didn't know it was arriving until two hours prior to starting work. Secondly, when you are planning a battle, you pull it where you are strongest. The ILWU has full and uncontested jurisdiction at Pier 80, San Francisco. At Richmond/Levin we had to wage an all out battle just to reestablish our toe hold, and the right to ghost riders when the dockside cranes are used. If we had had sufficient time we could have appealed to the Operating Engineers to stop the cargo at Levin's, but in San Francisco we were able to rely on our own forces. Without adequate preparation the Local's action could very easily have ended as unsuccessfully as Stan's isolated attempts.

What lies behind this sorry story is that Stan's Militant Caucus has given up on the working class. In 1974 and 1977, during the Chile cargo boycott and the first South African cargo boycott Stan, the Militant Caucus, and the Spartacist League played a principled role in trying to support the ILWU action and extend it coastwise. This time shamefully, they tried to wreck it. No vote for Stan Gow.

STOPWORK ACTION TO DEFEND THE HIRING HALL AND OLDER/DISABLED MEN! CANCEL THE CONTRACT!

By now, six months after the disastrous 1984 contract was imposed on us, everyone should be able to see that business as usual won't preserve our union or our jobs. We're going to have to carefully pick the issues and take arbitrary stopwork action outside the contract grievance procedures. Whether it's PMA coding older and disabled men out of PGP, arbitrarily mis-ordering men, working in violation of the contract, or tampering with the dispatch system and hiring hall, we must be prepared to go to the mat, and not simply knuckle under to Sutliff or Edwards.

If we do it right we can lay the basis for a coastwise movement to cancel the contract, and go for what we all need. In spite of repeated indications that the membership is ready to fight, neither the officers nor the Executive Board have been willing to even systematically discuss a program of action to resist PMA. None of the many brothers running for

office have developed and come forward with a program that can even be seriously discussed as to whether the brother merits electoral support. For that reason the Militant Longshoreman makes no endorsement of any candidate for local office.

We appeal to brothers and sisters to carefully read the program printed below, and vote for Howard Keylor.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN PROGRAM

1. DEFEND OUR JOBS AND LIVELIHOOD - Six hour shift, no extensions, at eight hours pay. Manning scales on all ship operations; one man, one job. Full-no-cap C.O.L.A. on wages. Weekly PGP, eliminate all "coding out" rules. No restrictions on PGP eligibility. No "take back" on travel time.

2. DEFEND THE HIRING HALL - Use regular gangs on container ships; no dispatch of "unit gangs". Call all 9.43 men back to the hall. Stopwork action to defend the hiring hall, the stop line and older and disabled men.

3. DEFEND UNION CONDITIONS AND SAFETY THROUGH JOB ACTION - Stop PMA chiseling on the contract. Eliminate "work as directed", "no illegal work stoppage", and arbitration sections from the contract. Mobilize to smash anti-labor injunctions.

4. DEFEND OUR UNION - Eliminate class B registration category from the contract - promote all class B to class A coastwise. Keep racist anti-labor government and courts out of the union. Support union resistance against court suits and government "investigations". Union action to break down racial and sexual discrimination and employer favoritism on the waterfront. Lay the basis for cancelling the contract and waging a coastwise fight for what we need.

5. BUILD LABOR SOLIDARITY - against government/employer strikebreaking. No more PATCOs. Honor all picket lines - remove reactionary ones. Don't handle struck or diverted cargo. No raiding of other unions. Organize the unorganized and the unemployed. Labor strikes to stop cuts in Social Security, MediCal, Medicare and Workmen's Compensation.

6. STOP NAZI/KLAN TERROR through union organized labor/black/Latino defense actions. No dependance on capitalist police or courts to smash fascists.

7. WORKING CLASS ACTION TO STOP REAGAN'S WAR DRIVE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION - Oppose reactionary boycotts against Soviet and Polish shipping. Labor strikes to oppose U.S. military actions against Cuba, Nicaragua, or Salvadoran leftist insurgents. Boycott military cargo to Chile, El Salvador, Israel and Turkey. Defy the apartheid injunction. Boycott all South African cargo during periods of intense struggle and repression.

8. INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY - Oppose protectionist trade restrictions. Defend undocumented workers with strike action. ILWU support to military victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador.

9. BREAK WITH DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES - Start now to build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without payment to the capitalists and establish a planned economy to end exploitation, racism, poverty, and war.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No.14 (415(562-3308 | Published by Howard Keylor P.O.Box 43092, Oakland, CA 94624-0092 | 3 January 1986 Labor Donated

Re-Elect Keylor to Executive Board

A few days ago a brother approached the editor and asked, "Are you still going to run for office on that pie in the sky program? Stan [Gow] doesn't print up a program any more. You know the union is going down hill fast and these guys won't fight PMA - and sure not the government." This leaflet will try to respond to these questions.

First a few obvious examples why this brother is so pessimistic. The 1984 contract settlement allowed PMA to code hundreds of men out of PGP. The local was unable to stop many of these brothers from losing health and welfare benefits.

The increasingly desperate job squeeze for older men led to a dangerous confrontation between Locals 34 and 10 over the extra clerk jobs. At one point the Local 10 Executive Board seriously debated taking our sister local to court -- a clear invitation to the capitalist courts to "administer" our contract. One of the few positive events this past year is that this issue was finally resolved, leaving our two locals free to fight PMA instead of each other.

The decline in traditional winch and lift skilled jobs due to containerization and the monopoly of better paid skilled jobs by 9.43 men means that a longshoreman in San Francisco has to spend 20 years working on the hold board. During the last couple of years we've seen continued attempts to wipe out seniority in promotions and skilled dispatch categories. Fortunately the membership recognized that seniority is the only remaining protection we have for older and partially disabled longshoremen, and voted these motions down.

DRUG & ALCOHOL SCREENING
COAST COMMITTEE ACTS AS PMA COPS

Those members who were at the November meeting got a real shock when it was reported that the class collaboration policies of the International has reached a new low. The union side of the Coast Committee has agreed with PMA to a "screening program" for alcohol and drug use. Applicants for registration and longshoremen being promoted will be subject to a screening or check for drug and alcohol use -- supposedly to make the waterfront a safer place to work. This cynical and hypocritical demand from PMA should have been summarily rejected by the union side with the counter demand that the employers stop their speed-up, unsafe work practices, and short manning that create unsafe working conditions on the waterfront. For instance: In 1984 PMA adamantly refused to even consider updating the safety code to provide for safety conditions working aboard container ships that have been in effect in Asian and European ports for years. This is just another move by the stevedoring companies to try to make the individual longshoreman legally responsible for the high accident rate in the industry.

Think about it: How will this "screening" for drug and alcohol addiction take place? This program makes all arrest and legal actions and all medical records outside the job evidence that can be used against a longshoreman. There

are two outstanding dangers here. "Evidence" accumulated in this way could be used by employers to get out of paying claims to longshoremen injured on the job. Even more sinister is the danger opened up by the Coast Committee grant of approval to PMA for the acquisition of this kind of information, thereby giving the bosses another weapon to use against union activists and militants!

Almost all unions have resisted employer drug testing programs, pointing out among other reasons the notorious unreliability of these "tests". For example: A person who never uses marijuana but happens to be in a room or enclosed space where someone else is smoking a joint will test out as a user for up to 30 days afterwards. Our local Caucus delegates must go into the February Coast Caucus and demand that the Coast Committee reverse their decision to act as cops for PMA.

There is a traditional union solution to the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning. In the earlier history of the union, before Harry Bridges and his buddies surrendered so much union power and control back to PMA, the union handled such problems internally. But when our local tries to exercise union discipline as part of the effort to help our brothers overcome their problem, PMA has rushed in to stop us. Our union must reassert this right and exercise internal union discipline and control.

WHY A CLASS-STRUGGLE PROGRAM?

Most brothers and sisters see no way out of the weakness, decline and isolation of our union. We say that the history of the working class and of our union has valuable lessons that show the way for workers to protect themselves and finally seize control of society. The MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN program, printed at the end of this issue, tries to apply these lessons to our own union as a guide to those things we should fight for, and the tactics we have to use to get them. That's why we call for concrete acts of workers' solidarity, from joining other unions on their picket lines to political strikes against U.S. imperialist intervention against Central American revolutionary movements. Unless we break out of our isolation and help to build ties with other workers, our isolation will lead to even more defeats.

We should be ashamed that, except for a tiny handful of longshoremen, the Restaurant workers on strike for months just a couple of blocks from our hall got no help from our local. While Chilean longshoremen are in a desparate strike to defend their union, ILWU locals continue to unload cargo from that country, while the International issues mealy-mouthed statements of support. No group of workers can even defend and preserve their hard-won gains without working class solidarity. Those who forget this lesson lead the working class into one defeat after another.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION: LOCAL 10 DELEGATES SURRENDER TO HERMAN

Local 10 sometimes takes very good positions on paper, but doesn't follow through. Last April our local went into the International Convention having unanimously passed two historically important resolutions for working class solidarity. One resolution called for a union wide boycott of South African cargo demanding the International organize the action, and urging other locals to make the same demand of the International. The second resolution called for a 48-hour coastwise longshore strike if Reagan intervened militarily in Central America. [Stan Gow opposed both of these resolutions in the Executive Board -- probably because Keylor proposed them.] But what happened then? Our Convention delegates sat on their hands and failed to put up a fight for these resolutions allowing Jimmy Herman to line up his cronies and hand-raisers and defeat the proposals in the Resolutions Committee -- thus preventing these issues from even coming up on the floor for debate. Keylor was not a delegate, having failed to be elected in the February 1985 election by one vote.

Local 10 and our union appear even further away than in previous years from developing a class-struggle leadership -- but the need is even greater. No other candidate for office besides Keylor has a program that answers the needs of our union. No other candidate is committed to such a program.

DON'T MISS THE NEXT MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

In February we will deal with the coastwise erosion of our jurisdiction and the sub-standard longshore contracts being negotiated by the International. We'll try to describe an alternative to this no-win strategy to stop non-union longshore operators.

We'll also deal with the danger to workers posed by protectionism, union busting and the growing racist and fascist movements.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN PROGRAM

1. DEFEND OUR JOBS AND LIVELIHOOD - Six hour shift, no extensions, at eight hours pay. Manning scales on all ship operations; one man, one job. Weekly PGP, eliminate all "coding out" rules. Full-no-cap C.O.L.A. on wages. Joint Maritime union action against non-union barge operations.
2. DEFEND THE HIRING HALL - Use regular gangs on container ships; no dispatch of "unit gangs". Call all 9.43 men back to the hall. Stopwork action to defend the hiring hall, the stop line, and older and disabled men.
3. DEFEND UNION CONDITIONS AND SAFTEY THROUGH JOB ACTION - Stop PMA chiseling on the contract. Eliminate "work as directed", "no illegal work stoppage", and arbitration sections from the contract. Mobilize to smash anti-labor injunctions. No employer drug or alcohol screening.
4. DEFEND OUR UNION - Eliminate class B registration category from the contract - promote all class B to class A coastwise. Keep racist anti-labor government and courts out of the union. Support union resistance against court suits and government "investigations". Union action to break down racial and sexual discrimination and employer favoritism on the waterfront. Organize now for a coastwise contract fight to get what we need.
5. BUILD LABOR SOLIDARITY - against government/employer strikebreaking. No more PATCOs. Honor all picket lines - remove reactionary ones. Don't handle struck or diverted cargo. No raiding of other unions. Organize the unorganized and the unemployed. Labor strikes to stop cuts in Social security, MediCal, Medicare and Workmen's Compensation.
6. STOP NAZI/KLAN TERROR through union organized labor/black/Latino defense actions. No dependance on capitalist police or courts to smash fascists.
7. WORKING CLASS ACTION TO STOP REAGAN'S WAR DRIVE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION - Oppose reactionary boycotts against Soviet and Polish shipping. Labor strikes to oppose U.S. military actions against Cuba, Nicaragua, or Salvadoran leftist insurgents. Boycott military cargo to Chile, El Salvador, Israel and Turkey. Defy the apartheid injunction. Boycott all South African cargo.
8. INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY - Oppose protectionist trade restrictions. Defend undocumented workers with strike action. ILWU support to military victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador.
9. BREAK WITH THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES - Start now to build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without payment to the capitalists and establish a planned economy to end exploitation, racism, poverty, and war.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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(415) 568-8493 | P.O.Box 43092, Oakland CA 94624-0092 | Labor Donated

WHAT IS BAFSAM DOING AT PIER 80?

BAFSAM (bay area free south africa movement) has had a leaflet out calling on enemies of apartheid to "Stop Nedlloyd Ship at Pier 80 - Saturday, January 25 at 5 p.m." People who respond to this call thinking that they are supporting a labor boycott of South African cargo may be surprised to find no ship with South African cargo docked at Pier 80. So what is BAFSAM doing? Is this just incompetence? Ever since the 11 day longshore boycott in 1984 BAFSAM has pulled a series of small, ineffective picket lines at Pier 80 in San Francisco, sometimes cynically picketing the entrance even when no Nedlloyd Line ship was docked there! Meanwhile BAFSAM has continued its lunchtime picket line in uptown Oakland at Pacific Maritime Association offices.

BAFSAM STRATEGY - A TOTAL FAILURE

Last fall at UC Berkeley BAFSAM spokespersons reported that their "Peace Navy" and picket lines had stopped South African cargo in the Bay Area. The truth is that in the Bay Area not one ship carrying South African cargo has been delayed in either docking, discharging or loading. Free South Africa Movement token picket lines in other West Coast ports resulted in at most a single 10 hour delay of one ship in Vancouver, WA. In every case arbitrators ordered longshoremen to work the cargo; orders promptly obeyed.

BAFSAM has refused to build a picket line big enough and militant enough to shut down Pier 80 when a Nedlloyd ship is in port; meanwhile they have ignored the 10 US Lines and 3 Lykes Lines vessels carrying South African cargo calling at least weekly in the Bay Area. BAFSAM has been at Pier 80 in order to whore off the credit gained by S.F. longshoremen's history making 11 day political strike. These friends of Archie Brown's are the same people who later went on to organize BAFSAM They are the same misleaders of the working class who helped the S.F. police to break up a picket line at Pier 80 on Dec. 4, 1984 - the picket line which had temporarily halted work on the Nedlloyd Kimberley the day after the Federal Court injunction against Local 10 longshoremen.

If BAFSAM had just held demonstrations off to the side of the pier entrance while issuing their appeals to the "individual consciousness of longshoremen" they would have been guilty only of liberal ineffectiveness and political impotence. By putting up token picket lines they have prostituted this traditional trade union weapon. Their actions are counter-productive; the only result is to train longshoremen to go through and work South African cargo behind picket lines. These cynical and irresponsible picket lines are only making it harder to organize a new longshore boycott. Clearly, the last thing BAFSAM wants is well organized and effective labor solidarity actions with the embattled black masses in S.Africa

BAFSAM'S REAL STRATEGY - BEG THE CAPITALISTS AND THEIR DEMOCRATIC PARTY LACKEYS TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT APARTHEID

BAFSAM's presence at Pier 80 has nothing to do with working class or trade union action against apartheid. This was made very clear at a West Coast Labor Conference against apartheid called by BAFSAM in August last year. The underground South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU - supported by the ANC) had just issued an appeal to trade unions, especially transport workers, in North America and Europe urging them to refuse to handle cargo, mail, communications to or from South Africa. One of the conference workshops introduced a motion to send delegates to the various labor union bodies in the Bay Area urging a union organized two week boycott of South African cargo during the forthcoming national period of protest against apartheid. Franklin Alexander and other BAFSAM spokesmen demagogically attacked this motion for concrete action and were successful in getting it defeated.

Instead of labor action the conference passed a car load of liberal motions for letters to Congress, appeals to local government bodies, petitions to Port Commissions, and research into constitutional law. Their strategy is dead set against real actions of labor solidarity, and is centered on making liberal moral appeals to the consciousness of the capitalists and their political flunkies. During the Vietnam war these same people refused to even try to organize labor strikes against the war. They were conspicuous in the ineffectual pacifist peace crawls. It was the courageous struggle of the Vietnam workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism that led the U.S. to finally pull out of Vietnam. It's not liberal appeals to the non-existent "moral consciousness" of capitalists that is causing banks and corporations to pull out of South Africa; it is the revolt of the black masses which is making their investments in apartheid too risky to continue.

SMASH THE APARTHEID INJUNCTION THROUGH A MASS LABOR BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICAN CARGO!

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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MASS PICKETS

TO PUT NON-UNION BARGE OPERATORS OUT OF BUSINESS!

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED!

When the Coast Longshore Caucus meets February 10 the hottest issue on the agenda will be the substandard contract for longshore work signed by the International with a northwest barge operator. This contract grants not only substandard wages and manning but provides that ILWU Inland Boatmen - not registered longshoremen - will perform the work. Local 10 delegates are under instructions from the membership to oppose this and any substandard contracts for longshore work. The militant posturing on the part of Stan Gow, who put up the motion, and the brothers who spoke passionately on substandard contracts covers up the fact that they have no program to combat the growing threat to our job jurisdiction.

LONGSHORE JOB JURISDICTION UNDER ATTACK

At the recent Longshore Division meeting in San Francisco a Local officer from the Northwest reported that there are 20 non-ILWU barge loading operations in the Puget Sound area; several ships had been loaded without ILWU longshoremen, and a non-union tug company from the Gulf is now operating in a big way in the off-shore barge trade on the Pacific coast.

In recent years dozens of non-ILA stevedoring operations have sprung up on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Some 20 non-union stevedoring companies have become so bold that recently they demanded permission by port authorities to carry their scab operations into publicly owned port facilities threatening to put them out of business if they weren't allowed to compete directly for ILA jobs. In Baltimore and Houston longshoremen fought pitched battles with cops to protect their jobs.

WHAT IS HERMAN'S PROGRAM?

The strategy of the International to protect our jobs is best revealed by peaceful "area standards" picketing of Seaways in Seattle combined with their equally ineffectual legal actions. Now President Jimmy Herman has come up with a new gimmick - try to establish jurisdiction by using the IBU (Inland Boatmen) to negotiate substandard contracts for longshore work. This strategy will prove to be at least as much of a failure as the strategy of signing substandard CFS contracts. So, who has an alternative? When Brother Herman challenged the officers of the longshore, clerks, and walking bosses locals to propose another strategy no one responded. Judging by their performance at previous Caucuses it doesn't look like any of the delegates will propose anything better than a "head in the sand" attitude. The best we can expect is a lot of rhetoric about how undemocratic President Herman was to sign this contract without Caucus agreement.

HOW TO WIN!

There's only one way to defend our jobs against non-union attacks; a strategy of mobilizing the full strength of the union in mass picket lines and of building solidarity actions of all maritime unions to smash non-union employers and organize the unorganized seamen and longshoremen. The 1983 shut down of Levin's in Richmond by Bay Area ILWU and the Columbia River longshore mass mobilization against a non-union barge operation in Vancouver, Washington, show that waterfront workers aren't afraid to do what is necessary to defend the union, even when it means defying court injunctions. We must organize our forces, select the weakest non-union barge company and put him out of business; then move on to the next weakest. By the time we get to Seaways we could be on a real labor crusade that would draw in thousands of maritime unionists and convince the unorganized that the trade union movement can protect them.

In his December 15 Dispatcher editorial on organizing Jimmy Herman accepts as an unchangeable fact that under the present laws unions can't protect workers from employer firing and victimizing when they try to organize. He believes that unionized workers won't fight even to protect their own job jurisdiction and conditions, let alone join in mass picket lines and secondary boycotts to

defend other workers. This cynical, defeatist and wrong-headed view about workers ignores the historic lessons of the labor movement which showed that the broader and more militant labor struggles become, the more workers were encouraged to join in defending their own and other workers struggles. The last few years have seen a series of heroic desperate battles by workers - struggles isolated and betrayed by the union bureaucrats.

NO ENDORSEMENTS!

Militant Longshoreman is making no endorsements in this election. While there are a number of honest rank and filers running for various offices who are loyal to the union and want to defend their conditions, none of these brothers are running on a program which commits them to a militant class-struggle strategy - a program that shows they won't be confused or misled by the narrowly selfish, short-sighted and fearful arguments that have dominated union politics for too long.

Brother Stan Gow's continued refusal to run on a program reflects his disorientation and opportunism. Two incidents reveal Stan's irresponsibility. In the November meeting Stan made a motion to defend the striking Chilean Longshoremen by refusing to handle Chilean cargo. During and since our 11-day boycott of South African cargo in 1984 Brother Stan Gow has viciously attacked Howard Keylor for playing a leading role in that cargo boycott, arguing that only a ship boycott is supportable, even at a public meeting in Europe last year. But inconsistency is not the worst aspect of Brother Gow's actions. He got up and made the motion without even trying to build up support in the local by getting brothers and sisters to second and speak on the motion. We can only conclude that he and the Militant Caucus are just interested in making the record, that they don't really believe that longshoremen will act militantly in solidarity with their working class brothers.

When Gow and Keylor were collaborators Stan struggled hard to defuse conflict between our local and other ILWU locals. He understood that we must have unity between waterfront locals. Only the PMA profits when clerks and longshoremen fight each other. At the January membership meeting Brother Gow joined in on the cheap demagogic attacks on the settlement between Locals 10 and 34 pertaining to extra clerks work, even though he knows how important it is to continue to build ILWU unity.

This leaflet is already too long. The Militant Longshoreman will be issued more frequently in 1986.

ELECT THE CLASS STRUGGLE CANDIDATE!

HOWARD KEYLOR 25-B

CAUCUS & CONVENTION

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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1987 COAST CONTRACT
NO CONCESSIONS -- NO TAKEBACKS

Six months before the coast contract runs out the most common question that brothers in Local 10 are asking is "Do you think PMA is going to demand concessions?" Three years ago the question most often asked was "What are we going for in this contract?" It's just possible that PMA will miscalculate the mood of longshoremen and insist on concessions - "take aways" in either conditions or money. We know that the waterfront employers want more "flexibility", that they want to eliminate categories anad assign men to any jobs. We also note that PMA is demanding that the dispatch hall be moved to Oakland and all travel time be done away with.

What PMA may not figure on is that Longshoreman know that we gave the employers major concession many years ago, lost thousands of jobs as a result, and got very damn little in return. Bridges and Goldblat's two M and M agreements 1961/1966 gave up manning and allowed massive mechanization. The 9.43 skilled steadyman section drove a wedge in the union, undermined the hiring hall, and gave Bay Area PMA the highest coastwise production on container ships. Longshoremen are in no mood for concessions; if PMA doesn't understand that they could walk into a strike situation. Just recently PMA came very close to precipatating coastwise work stoppages over their refusal to employ partially disabled longshoremen in three different ports and their demand that these men be deregistered.

WHAT IS PRESIDENT HERMAN'S STRATEGY?

International President Jimmy Herman seems to be pushing a strategy of trying to buy off PMA by offering a long-term contract in exchange for a status quo agreement with "modifications". Look out for those "modifications"! There are two things wrong with long contracts. First of all, too many of us remember how the employers ran wild, tearing up job conditions during Harry Bridge's two 5 year contracts 1961-1971. With no strike threat at the end of a contract facing them PMA, backed up by a tame arbitrator and a timid international could go even further than they already have in undermining job conditions and weakening the union.

Second- many powerful unions tried to hold on to wages and conditions in the face of Capitalism's anti-labor offensive by signing long term contracts. What happened? Their employers arbitrarily violated the terms of the agreement, demanded contract reopeners, and cut wages and benefits mid-way during the contracts.

We have to get the union ready for a strike even to keep what we have contractually. Our weakest link is the International. Even before going into a strike we have to demand that the strike and negotiations be run by a broad rank and file strike committee based on locally elected strike committees. If negotiations and strike strategy are left in the control of the Coast Committee we'll be in deep trouble.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ILA?

The disastrous erosion in their jurisdiction that overwhelmed the ILA in their contract this year made a deep impression on our ILWU brothers. After non-union stevedoring companies successfully wrested more than half the work away from the Gulf and South Atlantic ILA, those locals signed special contracts with massive take-aways in wages, benefits, and manning. Then when the ILA international called a union-wide strike following stalled negotiations for their master contract, the Gulf and South Atlantic Ports kept working! Result- New York and the North Atlantic ILA made major concessions in manning and wage guarantees.

NO PLACE TO HIDE

The growing international crisis of capitalism and the weakness and disunity of the trade union and working class political movements leave ILWU longshoremen with no real economic security. Even those of us approaching retirement know that our pensions and social security are no more secure than this rotting economic system from which our union wrested these gains in earlier decades. Our appeals for the ILWU to take the lead in organizing a workers party to expropriate basic industry and finance capital aren't just utopian demands; we're simply describing the only way out for the working class here and internationally.

One way our union can try to influence events is to reaffirm and send to the coast longshore caucus the resolution we sent to the last international convention: a resolution calling for a 48 hour coast longshore protest strike if Reagan takes military action against Nicaragua.

CROWLEY DEMANDS: 33% WAGE CUTS/ELIMINATE THE HIRING HALL

12 Crowley contracts with the IBU-ILWU (INLAND BOATMEN'S UNION) are up on Feb. first, next year. Crowley is demanding 33% wage concessions and an end to the union hiring hall. These contracts cover tug and barge work from Alaska to Los Angeles. Crowley is a PMA member and has contracts with the ILWU longshore division in Hawaii and the northwest. Full longshore support to the IBU-ILWU to defeat Crowleys takeaway demands would be a signal to PMA to back off on any concession demands. But don't forget; several years ago Jimmy Herman ordered Local 10 longshoremen to cross an IBU picket line against a Crowley scab barge at the army base!

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN PROGRAM

1. DEFEND OUR JOBS AND LIVELIHOOD - Six hour shift, no extensions, at eight hours pay. Manning scales on all ship operations, one man - one job. Weekly PGP. Full no - cap C.O.L.A. on wages. Joint maritime union action against non - union barge, shipping, and longshore operations. No ghost riders or witnesses. No long term contracts.

2. DEFEND THE HIRING HALL - use regular gangs on container ships; no dispatch of "unit gangs". Call all 9.43 men back to the hall. Stop work action to defend the hiring hall and older and disabled men.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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Industrial Docks - A Knife At Our Throat

When the Coast Longshore Caucus meets in April the delegates will be faced with defending the union against take-aways and concessions. Even if we are successful in stopping PMA's appetite for more profits and more control over longshoremen, the greatest threat to our jobs, welfare benefits and pensions is from the non-PMA industrial docks. Non-union shipping lines, tug and barge operations have already cut into West Coast maritime unions control of the waterfront. These outfits have an appetite to move into longshore operations replacing union conditions with labor costs 1/2 to 1/3 of standard ILWU contracts.

On the Gulf Coast new industrial docks, floating docks and barges have taken a large chunk of ILA longshore work. Half the ILA longshoremen in the Houston local work for non-union companies at grossly sub-standard conditions.

Levin Again Threatens Longshore

Here at Richmond Paar 5 (Yard 1) Levin Terminals now has a completely non-ILWU operation on scrap iron: no linemen, not even the few turn around jobs we get on the bulk cargoes. None of Levin's workers are even covered by the sub-standard Laborers Union and Operating Engineers contracts they had three years ago when we put up mass pickets at the gate. Our tenuous toe-hold at Richmond Yard 1 can only tempt Levin into another confrontation with the ILWU to totally get rid of us and move into autos, barges, break bulk cargo, and containers with no longshoremen working. Levin's non-union bulk operations have already destroyed most of the Longshore covered bulk jobs in Stockton, Sacramento and Redwood City.

The International officers have no answer to this threat. When a huge non-union barge operation opened up in Puget Sound several years ago the ILWU members were limited to months of informational picketing.

Organize the Unorganized

There is only one answer - organize! Only a massive joint ILWU, AFL-CIO, Teamster organizing campaign to organize <u>all</u> waterfront cargo-handling operations and barge traffic can stop the certain weakening and destruction of maritime union conditions on the West Coast. But a massive organizing campaign can only take place if workers get rid of the fearful, ossified leadership of the unions and replace them with a leadership that isn't afraid of old-fashioned class struggle.

Crowley Moves to Break IBU-ILWU

When the Inland Boatmens' Union (IBU) affiliated to the ILWU that gave us an important tool to defend longshore and to organize industrial docks. As we described in the last <u>Militant Longshoreman</u> the heart of the IBU is threatened by Crowley Maritime whose demands for 50% take-aways and elimination of the hiring hall puts the existence of the union at stake. 13 contracts are up for renegotiation including the important Alaska barge trade. If the IBU is smashed the Longshore contracts with Crowley and even the existence of the Alaskan Longshore locals are threatened. Crowley has already been successful over the past few years in forcing the Longshore Division to accept sub-standard contracts.

The strike deadline is approaching. There are indications that Crowley is trying to split up the IBU front and force one or more regions into separate negotiations and separate strikes. Even more alarming is that the ILWU International and IBU top-leadership have tried to discredit and defeat demands from the IBU locals for a united coastwise strike to defeat Crowley's union busting. Herman and IBU President Liddle's fear of an all-out confrontation with Crowley could lead them to separate negotiations by region or even contract by contract. That "strategy" can only result in a disastrous defeat for the IBU.

For A Coastwise Strike Against Crowley!
For Mass Pickets to Stop Scabbing!

A militant coastwise strike backed up by mass ILWU pickets to defeat scabbing would be a signal to PMA not to try take-aways, and could discourage terminals and shippers from trying to set up non-union longshore operations undermining our jurisdiction on the waterfront. While Local 10 has very good relations with the IBU there are alarming signs of a crack in ILWU solidarity. A few days ago a tug manned by scabs pulled into C & H Sugar at Crocket. The IBU had a picket boat out on the water and was prepared to put up pickets at the plant gate to stop the barge from docking. Longshore maintenance men at C & H were prepared to observe the pickets but Local 6 President Al Lannon refused to commit the warehousemen not to cross IBU picket lines! This is the same Al Lannon who as a Local 6 B.A. tried to raid longshore work in Redwood City some years ago. Only if the full strength of the ILWU is brought out to man mass picket lines and stop scabbing can Crowley be stopped from breaking the back of the IBU.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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Herman, Liddle, Estrada Endanger Inland Boatmen's Strike Against Crowley!

Going into the fourth week of their strike against Crowley's union busting the IBU-ILWU has stopped most of Crowley's struck West Coast operations. With the help of longshoremen and clerks all Crowley tug docking and undocking and bunkering of ships worked by ILWU members has been stopped cold. A major victory was won when two struck Crowley barges brought from Hawaii by scabs sat idle in Oakland when longshoremen and clerks refused to work behind mass IBU pickets. On MAR 4 Coast arbitrator Sam Kagel upheld the union's contention that Crowley had extended the struck site to his barges even when they were docked at Howard Terminal and Berth 10, and that the contract picket line language precluded PMA from forcing us to work the struck barges.

The main danger that threatens the Boatmen's strike is the apparent fear of Jimmy Herman, Don Liddle, and the IBU leadership that a tough, effective militant strike will antagonize Crowley and make it impossible to "cut a deal" with the company. The IBU leaders tried to stop or delay a coastwise strike, kept vital information from the rank-and-file, and threw militants off the strike committee in Puget Sound and the Bay Area. IBU Regional Director, Rich Estrada, suppressed information that the two Hawaii Marine Lines barges had been loaded in Hawaii when the longshoremen capitulated to a court injunction. We still don't know whether Herman and Liddle ordered IBU pickets off the barges in Hawaii after the injunction came down; but you can be damn sure that Herman ordered the longshoremen to load those scab barges. IBU rank-and-filers have been unable to find out to what extent the struck Crowley barge trade to Alaska is still operating. Estrada dragged his feet, held back the documents and paperwork on the barges and handicapped the Local 34 and Local 10 officers in preparing for the arbitrations when PMA ordered clerks and longshoremen to work behind IBU picket lines.

Estrada Purges Strike Committee

Finally, on his own "authority", Estrada removed George Gutekunst and Jack Heyman from the elected strike committee in spite of the widely recognized fact that they had organized an unusually effective strike in the Bay Area and had built excellent working relations with the clerk and longshore locals. The IBU Regional Executive Board ordered new elections and Gutekunst and Heyman were re-elected with the highest votes from their units.

One sinister and alarming result of the recent IBU elections is the placing of Estrada's ally Doug Crute on the strike committee. Doug Crute is the former Regional Director of the IBU who was censured by his own membership for grossly racist remarks at a membership meeting. Is this an attempt to disrupt longshore local 10's support for the boatmen's strike?

Liddle's Pipe Dream - Cut A Deal With Crowley

Herman, Liddle, and the IBU leadership are trying to strangle and defuse the membership's determination to win this strike, and to save their jobs and their union. Crowley openly advertised for and hired scabs days before the strike and has made no bones about his intention to gut the union. The IBU leaders had by their own admission 15% concessions on the table when the strike broke out and have given every indication that they are willing to go even further in a desperate attempt to cut a deal. They are afraid that militant strike tactics will escalate the conflict to where Crowley will not be open to even major give-aways.

Nice Guys Don't Win!

What the IBU membership needs to understand is what we in longshore learned decades ago. The only way to protect the membership is to be willing to go as far as necessary to economically hurt the employer when he's trying to smash you. It's all a question of power - not wheeling and dealing. Crowley has departed from the fourty years of class collaboration since Taft Hartley that has dominated maritime labor relations. Crowley defeated the ILA in three ports on the Gulf and South Atlantic wiping out longshore union jurisdiction on his barge operations. When he bought Delta Lines he fired the entire Master, Mates and Pilots crews, ordering them hauled off ships by Federal Marshalls. Crowley will only sign acceptable contracts with the IBU if he's hurt economically!

George Gutekunst and Jack Heyman issued a joint election statement which has most of the ingredients for what they call a "Program for Victory". A) Winning support and cooperation from longshoremen and clerks. B) Mass Picketing to stop scab operations. C) Defiance of court injunctions that would limit mass picketing or allow scab operations.

Tell the Truth:
Herman and Liddle Will Snatch Defeat From the Jaws of Victory!

Unfortunately, the two brothers did not clearly warn their membership in their election statement that Herman, Liddle, Estrada and their cronies will <u>sabotage</u> such a winning strategy short of victory, because they don't believe it's possible to win in open battle. Gutekunst and Heyman failed to advise the IBU membership that they, the rank-and-file, will have to control the strike, overrule or replace their leadership when they try to sow confusion and demoralization in the ranks. Even if the ranks didn't like to hear this necessary criticism of their leadership they must be told the truth if the strike is to be won.

After he purged the strike committee and took over its functions Estrada failed to inform Local 10 officers that three more H.M.L. barges had been loaded in Hawaii and were headed for the West Coast, and that Crowley had gone to the NLRB to get a Federal Court order overruling the ILWU-PMA contract grievance procedure and ordering longshoremen and clerks to work the scab barges! Crowley scab barges will shortly be tied up in three areas on the West Coast. If the IBU and the longshore division capitulate to court injunctions it will be a major blow to an otherwise effective strike. We can expect no help from Herman and the Coast Committee. In both the Richmond Levin action and the Longshore South African cargo boycott the International sided with the PMA in finding Local 10 in violation of the contract leaving us open to legal actions.

Mass Picket Lines
to Smash Court Ordered Scabbing!

If injunctions come down longshoremen and clerks will have to pull everyone out and join the IBU picket lines coastwise. If Crowley breaks the IBU he's sure to ignore our jurisdiction and start working barges (and even ships) at so-called industrial docks utilizing non-ILWU workers at 1/4 to 1/3 our wages and benefits!

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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Crowley Scabs Flee Port Of Redwood City!

Last Friday the ILWU temporarily stopped a major attack on ILWU jurisdiction by Crowley. It all came together when Crowley, the largest tug and barge company in the world, brought three struck Hawaii Marine Lines barges into the port of Redwood City. At about 7:00 AM scabs began discharging containers from one of the barges using Sheedy Drayage Company cranes, hysters and tractors. IBU-ILWU pickets stopped a line of trucks and two additional hysters from entering the port in spite of Redwood City Police harassment. After the word reached San Francisco Walking Bosses, Clerks, Longshoremen and Ship Scalers left every job in the Bay Area and headed for Redwood City. When several hundred ILWU members headed down the road toward the pier the scabs took off running and abandoned the barge. Not one container has left the port! For weeks these struck barges have been towed up and down the coast like the Flying Dutchman, while Crowley's customers have been crying for their cargo.

Crowley Targets Longshore For Union Busting!

Since Crowley forced the IBU-ILWU into a strike to defend their jobs, we've been warning longshoremen that Crowley is laying the basis to break ILWU longshore jurisdiction on the West Coast. We didn't expect the direct attack to come so soon, although we had a hint about two months ago. At that time a port of Redwood City official told our officers that if Levin's non-union scrap iron operation at Richmond continued to underbid them, that the port of Redwood City would consider going non-union. Saturday the port got a Superior Court injunction limiting pickets to two at each gate. Crowley is now in Federal Court to get an injunction declaring our refusal to work the struck barges sitting at piers up and down the coast a "secondary boycott". He figures that the Feds will overturn our picket line language that prevents PMA from making us scab on our own ILWU brothers.

Longshore Jurisdiction and Jobs At Stake!

If Crowley, the port of Redwood City, and Sheedy Drayage Company (now the first scab Stevedoring Company in California), succeed in unloading the barges and trucking off the cargo, the port of Redwood City will soon be booming with barges and ships loaded with autos, steel, containers, lumber etc., none of it worked by ILWU longshoremen. This non-union cancer will spread rapidly to Richmond, Selby, Pittsburg, Antioch and points north and south. Unless we stand fast here, it's all over but the tears and 53 years of proud unionism will be history. We can end up like ILA longshoremen in New Orleans half of whom hang around the non-union piers hoping to pick up a days work at half the wages they were earning under ILA contracts.

There will be shrill voices raised (especially from Franklin Street), that we can't win, that the police will bust heads, that the courts will seize our funds, that each longshoreman will have his savings seized, and that our noble leaders will be jailed if we refuse to surrender our jobs meekly. We <u>can</u> win only if we are prepared to fight as hard to defend our gains of the past 53 years as our brothers fought to establish our union in 1934. It's not just the organized labor movement that is watching this battle and can be brought in to man our picket lines and stop Crowley cold. Millions of workers who yearn for job security and livable wages can be inspired by our successful battle that they too can hope to win union conditions and wages.

Fight
or
Roll Over Dead
No Middle Ground!

At the risk of sounding repetitious: We have to watch out that we're not misled by our International officers and their week-kneed hangers-on in our local. Just last St. Patrick's Day International officers Jimmy Herman, Rudy Rubio, Curtis McClain, Regional Director Leroy King and IBU President Don Liddle decended on the San Francisco IBU to tell them that they had no right to make any decisions on how to run their own strike. Herman shouted from the podium that the International officers and the top officers of the IBU would make all the decisions, and that he would order the IBU picket lines pulled down and would order longshoremen and clerks to discharge pineapples and personal effects of military personnel from those struck Crowley barges. When angry rank-and-filers loudly objected to Herman's strikebreaking he charged threateningly forward into the crowd of angry boatmen and tankermen - loudly defended by our own Local 10 Secretary Treasurer Tommy Clark. The next day it turned out that all the tears over "perishable" food was just an excuse to emasculate the IBU rank and file. There was no perishable cargo aboard the barges - just canned pineapple.

There is no place to hide - either we do what we have to do to defend our jobs, or roll over dead! Either we stop Crowley at Redwood City, or our union will be gutted by the union busters. That means we have to be prepared to defy court orders!

Stand Our Ground!

Mass Pickets At Redwood City
to Stop Scab Longshore Operations
and Defeat Injunctions!

CORRECTION:

In the rush of production the date on the last MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN No. 19 was incorrectly typed "February"; it should have read "March 13, 1987".
I never claimed to be perfect, The Editor

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

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IBU-ILWU STRIKE AGAINST CROWLEY AT CRITICAL STAGE

CROWLEY ATTACKS LONGSHORE JOB JURISDICTION

As the Inland Boatmen's Strike against Crowley Maritime goes into the fourth month with the ranks solid, Crowley has begun to perform longshore work with scabs. Saturday, May 19, Crowley worked a barge with commercial cargo for Alaska at the non-union Seaways terminal in Seattle using a company called MEGA to do the stevedoring. The IBU picketed Seaways but the barge got loaded. When we shut down the port and ran off the scabs in Redwood City, Crowley was effectively put out of the lucrative Hawaiian barge trade. One of the three barges we stopped was worked under a court order in Portland in April, but the other two barges remained tied up at Redwood City. Encouraged by the failure of the IBU and longshore division to stop the Seaways scab operations Crowley took those two barges from Redwood City last Thursday. They are headed north, probably to Seaways in Seattle or some other industrial dock.

Meanwhile Crowley is moving in the courts and before the NLRB to challenge the right of IBU to picket their operations and to challenge the right of longshoremen to refuse to scab on the IBU.

International Tries To Defuse Strike

Picketing of oil barges was ordered stopped over a month ago. When the San Francisco Region IBU members picketed in Long Beach to stop Crowley's bunkering and oil barge operations Rubio lied to the longshoremen and clerks, telling them that there was a blanket injunction against the IBU in Los Angeles. He then ordered locals 13 and 64 to go through IBU picket lines! It didn't work. Clerks and longshoremen walked off two ships. Since then Crowley's L.A. bunkering operations have been stopped cold.

The International has been begging top Crowley officials to offer any kind of a take-away, union-busting contract which they can then force on the union. There are indications that Herman is even willing to abandon the 153 Masters, Mates & Pilots who have been honoring the IBU picket lines against Crowley in the Puget Sound area. The International apparently believes that the only way to get Crowley to abandon their union-busting campaign is to act like reasonable gentlemen, to pull down picket lines and allow Crowley to make money with scabs. In early April the International allowed over 150 vans with Crowley cargo to go Hawaii on US Lines ships. Crowley has a 10 % in US Lines. The San Francisco IBU strike committee and ranks weren't even informed that the vans had been "cleared".

When the IBU members protested this sabotage of their strike the International began to move to completely take over running the strike. In a trick that has "Herman" written all over it, the IBU called an election (within four days!) for a coastwise "Strike Director", with the power to overrule any decision of the rank and file or elected strike committee. San Francisco elected strike committee members and militants were warned that if they put their criticism of the leadership on paper they would be brought up on charges. Longshore and clerk locals were told by the International to talk only to the top IBU leadership and to take a "hands off" attitude toward the strike.

The IBU Strike Is Our Strike

The "Journal of Commerce" recently had a long article describing how Crowley successfully broke the ILA longshoremen in three East Coast ports and that he is building more docks and facilities to take away even more work from the ILA. A Crowley promotional document issued in May describes how the company is in the stevedoring business on

the West Coast. When the Hyundai-controlled Pittsburgh steel plant finishes putting up those container cranes, we can expect Crowley to take over the stevedoring there - not just to handle steel products - but general stevedoring. Crowley recently bought two ships, manned by $40 a day CMU seamen, which are on their way to the West Coast.

The very existence of our union is at stake. If Crowley is not stopped now other non-PMA companies will go into business taking our work away. PMA will demand major concessions from us so that they can compete with non-union sub-standard stevedoring companies.

The only way to defeat Crowley's union-busting is to escalate the strike, to shut down all Crowley operations on the West Coast. The IBU rank and file will have to insurrect, to take back control of their own strike, and stop Crowley's 450 oil barges at Richmond, Martinez, and Pittsburgh. Only mass pickets can stop the cops from smashing picket lines. That means we'll have to shut down all West Coast ports where Crowley is operating and bring all men out to defend the IBU picket lines. We must get support of other workers from organized labor on the picket lines to defend our union against court orders and police attacks. The militant action of Boatmen and waterfront ILWU members in running the scabs off the dock in Redwood City sent a wave of hope and enthusiasm through the Bay Area labor movement. Workers who have seen their strikes broken or who have been forced by their timid leaders to accept major take-aways are waiting for someone to resurrect the tactics of union solidarity/mass pickets to stop scabbing and to defeat court and police strike breaking.

The first line of defense of our own jobs starts on the IBU picket lines. Every Crowley scab operation must be stopped, beginning with Seaways. This is the most severe task our union has faced since thwe 1948 strike. If we don't stop Crowley now our jobs will disappear, our pensions will be undermined, and the wages and conditions for the few remaining PMA jobs will be forced down to non-union levels.

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July 25, 1987
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HERMAN/RUBIO HAND PMA WEAPONS TO WEAKEN ILWU LONGSHORE DIVISION

After much rhetoric about "no concessionary bargaining" Herman and Rubio engineered two provisions in the proposed longshore contract that will disastrously weaken and divide the union. One of these "sleepers" is hidden in the supplemental memorandum of understanding-safety and the other is contained in the wages section.

PMA is accomplishing two goals dear to their heart in section B of the proposed Safety Rules. Section B(1) gives PMA the right to suspend and then move rapidly toward deregistering any longshoremen found guilty of not following "reasonable verbal instructions." This provision has nothing to do with safety; it's simply a way that superintendants can demand immediate absolute obedience, strike fear in every longshoreman, and easily get rid of anyone who doesn't show the right ass-kissing attitude. During the unions bitter struggles of the 30s longshoremen achieved a high degree of union ability to protect workers from employer victimization. The hiring hall which equalized job opportunity protected a man's income and job action protected him from abuse, discrimination, and speed-up. In 1960 Bridges' one year "Performance and Conformance" contract undermined the job action weapon. Then the 1966 9.43 steady equipment operators provision of the contract placed a large chunk of longshoremen in a much more vulnerable position.

Even so, the union has been able to pretty well protect longshoremen up to now. B(1) is an historic surrender to the employer. Any longshoreman who is not fast enough in jumping to obey a superintendant who orders men to work in violation of the contract will rapidly be programmed toward deregistration. B(2) will enable any superintendant whose speedup, incompetence, or faulty equipment results in an injury or damage to cargo to place the blame on a longshoreman for "intentionally" or "knowingly" causing the accident. The PMA companies have been trying to shift the blame for their high accident rate and insurance costs upon the individual longshoremen. For some time now in San Francisco any longshoreman involved in an accident has been fired and cited. Now PMA will have the power to get rid of the man.

PMA's hypocrisy about accidents is shown by their consistent resistance to longshoremen trying to use the Health & Safety provisions of the contract; hard-timing and firing men who stop work on safety beefs. In the past when longshoremen had job control they were able to collectively maintain safer working conditions. In recent years this undermining of union power has been a large contributing factor in the high accident rate.

There are no contract penalties for incompetent, drunk, or speed-up happy superintendants whose orders cause accidents and injuries. The whole burden is hypocritically shifted upon our shoulders. For over 50 years the employers have nutured a sick hatred and jealously of the pride and independence of longshoremen; now they will be able to "get-even."

-OVER-

6 TIER WAGE SCALE WILL UNDERMINE LONGSHORE UNITY

Unions have resisted 2 tier wage rates because they are highly divisive and unfair. If this contract passes, within a few years union members (A men) will be working side by side doing the same work for different wage scales. The Class B system with less work opportunity led to resentment and divisiveness. Long after men got Class A registration the divisions often persisted. Now we'll have 6 separate and distinct wage rates for the same work. How's that for undermining brotherhood and unity in the face of employers?

HERMAN AND RUBIO RUNNING SCARED

The editor of this newsletter was surprised at the extent of the give-aways in this contract. The increase in export shipping (resulting from the decline in the U.S. dollar), less PGP costs, and a decline in the work force made it unlikely that PMA would seek a confrontation leading to a strike even in the face of the minimal gains proposed by the International officers. So what happened? Herman and Rubio were running so scared that they sent all kinds of signals to the PMA that the door was open to a union weakening contract. The International sent orders down to the locals during negotiations to stop all job actions and minimize beefs. Instead of setting July 1st as a no-contract no-work target date they announced ahead of time that they would order work past the July 1st contract termination date.

Probably the most glaring indication of weakness was the criminal way in which the IBU strike against Crowley was sabotaged. Any picketing or actions against Crowley which even slightly inconvenienced the PMA companies were stopped. Just one example: an arbitration on picket line language in Los Angeles which appeared to have a good chance of upholding the right of longshoremen and clerks to stop work behind IBU picket lines and to force ships agents to hire non-Crowley bunkering barges has been repeatedly postponed and delayed. Herman and Rubio have strangled the IBU from continuing their initially successful picketing in Los Angeles last month -- By the way there is no injunction in L.A. against IBU picketing Crowley's very profitable bunkering operations.

When the Crowley cargo-carrying barge Molokai which we stopped in Oakland and Redwood City was loaded by scab longshoremen at Seaways in Seattle it then went to Hawaii and was picketed by the IBU. Teamsters observed the IBU-ILWU pickets but longshoremen went thru the picket lines and unloaded the barge!

Part of the reason this contract may pass is that longshoremen and clerks are justifiably fearful of going into a strike with the weak and treacherous Herman/Rubio leadership. The only chance we have of winning even a defensive contract battle is to take control of the strike out of the hands of the International. We need to elect broad rank-and-file strike committees in every port to take complete control of the strike, shut it down solid and hurt PMA economically. That's why the 1934 and 1948 strikes were successful--the rank-and-file were in control.

VOTE NO! PREPARE TO STRIKE

“Three Days in June”
Howard’s Article on the ILWU Strike Against Levin Terminals in Richmond, CA

Originally Published: Bulletin of the External Tendency of the iSt, August 1983

Three Days in June

Bay Area ILWU Strike: Defensive Victory or Sellout?

Howard Keylor wrote this article on the ILWU strike against Levin Terminals in Richmond for the first issue of the Bulletin of the External Tendency of the iSt*, August 1983. Prior to the strike in* Militant Longshoreman *No. 5 (4 February 1983) Howard proposed:*

> *"We must organize now for just such port-wide strike action the minute another non-ILWU operation (barge or ship) begins in Richmond. The full power of our union to shut down the port and put thousands of men on the picket line will be. necessary to make clear to the murderous Richmond cops that union busting and scab-herding will not be permitted."*

The next issue of Militant Longshoreman *featured an article co-signed by Fred Addison that called for a general strike in San Francisco to defend the Greyhound bus drivers' strike. The Richmond strike was cited as an example of what could be achieved through the use of hard, class-struggle tactics:*

> *"The ILWU's recent strike in Richmond shows there's another way -- a way to win. When Levin Terminals tried to bring in outside labor to steal our jobs; when the [ILWU] international officers ruled our strike illegal and our business-unionist local officers vacillated -- we massed more than 1,200 strong in Richmond. Our union backed off the notorious Richmond killer cops. In solidarity, we shut down all Bay Area ports despite our contract which said we couldn't. Our action beat the injunction, stopped the union-busting, won a union contract, and stopped Levin's bid to take the auto work, container and break bulk cargo from longshoremen."*
>
> *"That's what's needed with Greyhound. If Feinstein's cons attack the pickets, the whole city should be shut down."*

In late June the ILWU in the Bay Area conducted a successful port-wide defensive strike against Levin Terminals, a viciously anti-union company in Richmond. The victory was obtained despite the handicap of a fearful, dilatory and inept local leadership of business unionists and a defeatist International. The local bureaucrats at times even threatened to fine members for trying to stop scabs! But the militant longshoremen nonetheless squashed Levin Terminals' attempted union-busting. And union-busting was the key issue at Richmond.

In the course of winning the strike (which was conducted in violation of the ILWU's contractual "no-strike" clause), the longshoremen engaged in mass picketing; backed off the Richmond cops; openly defied a court injunction and won significant solidarity support from another key maritime union.

When the dust had settled the ILWU had re-established its jurisdiction at Richmond Paar 5. No non-union labor is loading vessels. Members of the Operating Engineers were permitted to continue to operate the cranes as they have done for decades despite the fact that they had helped in the failed ILWU-busting effort.

WV Gets It Wrong—Very Wrong

The 1 July *Workers Vanguard* article entitled "Bay Area Port Shutdown Sold Out" characterized the outcome of the strike as a defeat, a "complete sellout." This article represents an appalling break with *WV*'s record of accurate, Trotskyist journalism on the waterfront and elsewhere. It contains over a dozen inaccuracies, omissions and distortions culminating in the rewriting of one of the most politically important maritime strikes in the Bay Area for decades.

The inventions and omissions by the authors of the fallacious *WV* piece show considerable contempt for the Bay Area waterfront workers, and indeed, for a sizable chunk of the local SL membership who were present for much of the strike. Those SLers who were present and who believe that it is important to speak the truth must be flinching at the crude shoehorning of events to fit a sectarian (and ultimately defeatist) formula.

In order to justify its step-by-step abandonment of the trade-union arena, the SL leadership apparently feels compelled to "prove" that all workers' struggles not led by the Spartacist League must inevitably end in defeat due to the sabotage and betrayal of the "Reagan-loving" bureaucrats.

The key test of an organization's real program lies in its practice. The confusion and virtual abstention during much of the Richmond strike by SL supporter Stan Gow revealed the flip side of the substitutionalist and ineffective El Salvador and South African boycott pickets which he attempted to initiate recently on the waterfront. Stan's disorientation stands in marked contrast to the tradition of SL-supported trade-union work. That tradition was carried forward by ET supporter Howard Keylor in the fight to defend ILWU job jurisdictions at Richmond.

For six months a confrontation had been building over the first major attempt to drive the ILWU off the docks in many years. About two years ago Levin Terminals, an independent waterfront employer, had purchased and expanded the Richmond Paar 5 facilities where longshoremen had worked ships since the union was founded. Since last December Levin management had made it clear that they intended to replace all ILWU workers on future container, auto and break-bulk operations. In December 1982 Levin had worked a sea-going

barge with containers and in March loaded a ship with coke using no ILWU members. No action had been taken other than a token picket of the barge.

For six months Local 10 officers had blocked all militant strike tactics pleading fear of court injunctions and police attacks. They had advocated putting up only a few informational pickets and lodging complaints against Levin over lack of pollution controls.

For six months ET supporter Howard Keylor had repeatedly and at every opportunity, in print and at meetings, argued for mass pickets and warned that without a defiance of court injunctions, Levin's union-busting attacks would succeed and spread to other industrial docks on the waterfront. As late as the June membership meeting where Keylor rose to defend Stan Gow he set the stage for turning the membership debate on Stan's trial into an attack on the officers' cowardly refusal to defend the union against Levin.

Keylor Calls for Mass Pickets

Six months of patient and persistent propaganda finally culminated two days before the strike when Keylor put forward a motion at the Executive Board (which had constituted itself as a strike committee and then did next to nothing throughout the strike). Keylor's motion, which directed the officers to send every longshoreman not working (approximately 1,200 members) to the picket line at Richmond, passed overwhelmingly. In the meeting Keylor also argued, without success, to set up mass pickets at the pier entrance Saturday morning before the scabs came through and to put out picket boats to stop the ship from docking.

SL supporter Gow had been pretty quiet about Levin's union-busting attacks for the whole preceding period in the local. Perhaps this reflected an abandonment of hope of any real fight until the membership threw out its "Reagan-loving" officers and invited the Militant Caucus to lead them. In any case, at the key Executive Board/strike committee meeting on June 23rd, Gow muttered, in a confused manner, about needing 100 or 200 pickets per ship. After Keylor spoke and put forward his motion, Gow, to his credit, didn't counterpose his proposal.

The local officers failed to adequately mobilize for the picket so by 1:00 p.m. Saturday, June 25, only 300 to 350 longshoremen had showed up in Richmond. Once they got there they were instructed to stand by until the ship docked (Levin had ordered ILWU linemen) so that one last attempt to negotiate could be tried. Keylor, who had argued against tying up the ship, replaced himself (went off the payroll) and declined to tie up the ship. The ship, the *Sunda Career*, docked about 3:45 p.m. At 4:45 p.m. (after Levin had again refused to negotiate) the officers finally ordered the picket lines to be set up.

Workers Vanguard deliberately lied when it stated that "...the picket line was set up at noon, our hours after work had started on the ship…" The motive for this rewriting of history became apparent the next Thursday when SL member and *WV* salesman, Steve S., accosted Howard Keylor in front of the union hall and asked him whether he had worked behind the picket lines at Richmond. (About 2:30 p.m. Saturday, before the ship arrived, Keylor had employed a subterfuge to accompany the officers of the local past the extremely tight security inside the pier, in order to scout the physical operation. He was the only Executive Board member who had extensive experience with that type of loading operation. Keylor came back out half an hour before the ship arrived and an hour and a half before the picket lines went up.) On the waterfront slanderous charges (or even snotty implications) of scabbing deservedly get the provocateur physically dumped. Is that what the SL leaders were trying to provoke? If so, they failed.

Day Two of the Strike: Gow Works Overtime!

Stan Gow, the Militant Caucus and a large *Workers Vanguard* sales team left the picket line at 7:00 p.m. Saturday with Stan announcing loudly that the strike was lost and that he would not be back. The next day, while the picket lines grew and the workers became angrier and more combative at the spectacle of their jobs going down the drain, the Spartacist League and the Militant Caucus were nowhere to be found. While one of the most important strikes in decades on the Bay Area waterfront was taking place in Richmond *Stan chose to work overtime* at Sea-Land!

Keylor continued to talk to the members urging them to demand that the officers pull out the entire membership and seal off the pier. Sunday afternoon he took de facto charge of the picket boats for the duration of the strike.

Sunday the strike spread when the officers, under pressure from the membership, shut down another container ship whose agent, General Steamship Company, was also agent for the struck *Sunda Career*. Sunday evening a draconic court injunction came down, limiting pickets to two men -- all other longshoremen to remain silently 1,000 feet away. The court ordered that there should be only one picket vessel 5,000 feet out in the bay. Longshoremen ignored the injunction and the picket line grew. All day Sunday, and far into the night, hundreds of longshoremen called the union hall demanding action to stop the loading of the *Sunda Career*. What was necessary in order to channel this militant sentiment effectively was the formation of an elected strike committee. A lesson from the Richmond action is the necessity for elected strike committees from the boards and gangs to take control from the beginning to avoid the bureaucrats' foot-dragging and sabotage.

Monday the officers finally responded to rank-and-file demands and shut down all Bay Area ports. Mass pickets estimated at 1,200 men and women sealed off Levin Terminals from the land side. About noon Monday the three longshore picket boats were joined by a large tug manned by members of the Masters, Mates and Pilots Union who threw full support to the ILWU. Keylor acted as liaison with the MMP pickets. With the ship now bottled up (no tugs or pilots to take it out) Levin caved in, stopped the ship-loading operation, asked permission for the strikebreakers to leave the pier and go home and agreed for the first time in six months to negotiate.

Degenerates' Alchemy: Labelling Victories Defeats

The three-day Bay Area longshore strike verified in a dramatic way what the Militant Caucus had been patiently arguing for years—that militant mass picketing and maritime workers solidarity would successfully back off the courts and defeat the employers. *Workers Vanguard* dismisses the fact that the ILWU got away with ignoring the court injunction, openly violated their contractual "no-strike" clause, and won the active support of a key maritime union. *Workers Vanguard* virtually disappears these important achievements with its false conclusion that the strike was lost.

The SL's recent tendency to ignore the dual nature of the trade-union bureaucracy gave it some trouble in reporting the strike. *Workers Vanguard* is unable to explain how the local officers, who SL supporters had been characterizing as conscious agents of Reagan and the bosses only a few weeks previously, could be forced by the rank and file to carry out militant strike tactics.

Longshoremen's participation in the first mass waterfront picketing in decades and their militant determination to fight, which was enough to force the bureaucrats to ignore court injunctions and defy contract arbitrators, should be seen as a verification of years of Militant Caucus propaganda work within the union. This work has been continued by ET supporter Howard Keylor since he left the Caucus in November 1981 over his refusal to abandon his position on the Executive Board of the union and leave the field free for the reformists and bureaucrats. Keylor has never lost confidence that workers would fight and could win when they were shown the way forward.

The fact is that the agreement re-established ILWU jurisdiction at Paar 5. The coke-loadirg operations are new and the ILWU was granted a manning scale similar to that previously used on scrap-iron loading operations, six men -- not four as *Workers Vanguard* and the *Longshore Militant* describe. The entire ILWU manning is supplementary to the Operating Engineers Local 3 crane operators and hatch tenderers and to the Laborers Union Local 1088, thus resulting in dual union manning. Instead of jointly sharing the work or at least

having ILWU members "standing by", the local officers allowed Levin to simply pay men for reporting to work and then going home, a practice which undermines jurisdiction on bulk operations.

Both *Workers Vanguard* and the *Longshore Militant* suggest that the ILWU should have demanded throwing all non-ILWU workers-- union and non-union --off the pier. *Workers Vanguard*: "...formalizes anti-union 'ghost worker' practices." *Longshore Militant*: "...rotten and formal practice of non-longshoremen doing longshore work with a facade of ILWU workers." The Operating Engineers have operated the cranes at that pier for over twenty years and neither the union nor the Militant Caucus had ever advocated throwing them off the job.

The Militant Caucus was never in favor of raiding or taking the jobs of workers belonging to another union with long-established job jurisdiction. The way to convince Operating Engineers' members to stop their union from raiding and colluding in union-busting is not by stealing their jobs in turn. (This proposal, which was put forward by some justifiably enraged longshoremen when the strike settlement was announced, was given backhanded support in the latest issue of the *Longshore Militant*, now published by the Militant Caucus.) The answer lies in demonstrating that effective union action can defeat the employers and organize new jobs under union jurisdiction. Indeed the kind of action the ILWU took, done effectively, coastwise, could actually create new jobs for all waterfront workers by winning a shorter workshift at no loss in pay, and abolishing the vicious steadyman system. The jurisdictional problem was further complicated by Levin having transferred its Laborers 1088 workers from the scrap yard operation to the dock-side coke receiving and handling operations-- a practice which Local 10 officers allowed to go on for months.

What was mainly at stake at Richmond Paar 5 was Levin's stated intention to replace ILWU longshoremen, clerks and walking bosses on container, auto and break-bulk operations at that pier. Union-busting at Paar 5 could have started a domino action by other industrial dock operators to smash the ILWU on the waterfront. Levin Terminals has now agreed to recognize full ILWU jurisdiction on all future container, auto and break-bulk shiploading operations -- a major defensive victory that will require vigilant enforcement by the union. (One steel ship has been discharged since with full ILWU manning.)

Apparently believing their own rationalization for dismantling SL trade-union work, Gow and the Militant Caucus' role in the strike was abstentionist and ineffective. Gow failed to assume even the minimal role incumbent on an Executive Board member and absented himself from the picket line for 36 hours. (This is consistent with Stan's almost total abstention last year around solidarity actions with the Canadian longshore strike which, as he later apologetically told Howard who fought for such solidarity, he had thought was over.)

On Monday the Militant Caucus circulated through the assembled pickets, unsuccessfully peddling their loathsome and ridiculous slander that Keylor had conspired with the "CIA-loving" officers in a political frame-up trial against Stan Gow. Unable to politically justify the wrecking of SL-supported trade-union work, the SL leadership resorts to slandering Keylor who is trying to salvage the wreckage of exemplary revolutionary trade-union work in longshore. Within the union Keylor provides a limited but significant political leadership while fighting for the construction of an alternative class-struggle leadership. Such an alternative leadership, based on the full Transitional Program, must be crystallized from the militancy which led to the Richmond port action, the Puget Sound longshore shutdown which won the Inland Boatmen Union's strike three years ago and the Los Angeles solidarity strike during the OCAW strike in 1980.

For the purpose of throwing filth at those who are continuing the tradition of SL-supported trade-union work and to alibi the SL's own sectarianism, *Workers Vanguard* resorts to printing an article so inaccurate and dishonest as to discredit Trotskyist journalism in the eyes of the workers. For eight years the Militant Caucus (and for the past two years the present supporters of the External Tendency) have told longshoremen that *Workers Vanguard* is the most reliable, honest and principled journalistic spokesman for workers interests. The hundreds of workers who were on the picket line and know from their own experience that *Workers Vanguard* presented a falsified version of the strike will doubtless treat future reports on events elsewhere (like Poland or El Salvador) more skeptically. Waterfront workers could. come to ignore *Workers Vanguard* as they have come to ignore *Challenge* and *Revolution* as unreliable and irrelevant.

In their developing exit from the arena of trade-union struggle, the SL leadership would seem to be pursuing a policy of deliberately shitting on the floor, casually squandering the slow but real gains of nine years of principled revolutionary work among Bay Area waterfront workers. It is time to call a halt!

Audio and Video About Howard's Life and Work

The links below are also compiled on a single page at:
https://linktr.ee/howardkeylor

AUDIO:

Kenny Oral History Project: Howard Keylor – Communist Militant in the ILWU - 1998

https://soundcloud.com/fisher-rare-book-library/sets/kenny-oral-history-project-howard-keylor

Series of interviews conducted in mid-summer 1998 that covers major events in Howard's life.

VIDEO:

Hot Cargo - 1984/1986

https://archive.org/details/hot-cargo-2014

Compilation of video footage and images related to the historic 1984 11-day boycott of South African cargo by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10, and the 1986 community blockade of another ship carrying South African cargo, on Pier 80 in San Francisco.

ILWU Struggles 1984-2010, The Struggle Continues

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ABosvjawnj4

By the Labor Video Project
The ILWU and especially ILWU Local 10 in the Bay Area has played a significant role in many labor and solidarity struggles. These include the struggle against South African apartheid, the IBU-ILWU strike solidarity action in Redwood City, the Neptune Jade struggle, the West Coast strike for Mumia Abu-Jamal, the 2002 lockout, the May 2008 strike against the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the struggle to defend Black ILWU members Jason Ruffin and Aaron Harrision in Yolo counties, the action against the Zim ship in Oakland in 2010 to protest the Gaza blockade and the work action to protest the murder of Oscar Grant.

Israel Zim Line Hit With Pickets In 2010—ILWU 10 & 34 Workers Stand Against Israeli Apartheid

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Gp503j9WSk

In a historic labor community protest on June 20, 2010, more than eight hundred people joined picket lines in the Port of Oakland SSA terminals to call on ILWU Local 10 and ILWU Local 34 members not to cross the picket lines and work the Israeli ship *Zim Shenzhen*. The protest was organized against the attack by Israel on the aid flotilla going to Gaza and the ongoing Israeli blockade of Gaza. The union longshore workers refused to cross the picket line and the protesters as a result were successful in stopping the work on the SSA terminal for 24 hours, halting the ships departure until the following day.

Lessons From the ILWU Battle Against EGT in Longview - 2012

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=08gc9lRReeE

Transport Workers Solidarity Committee (TWSC) solidarity forum on July 29, 2012 in San Francisco with ILWU Local 21's struggle against the grain monopolies in Longview, Washington.

Interview With Howard Keylor, Former Stockton State Hospital Employee - 2012

http://stancountyrmh.blogspot.com/2012/11/former-stockton-state-hospitol-talks-on.html

Interview with Howard in which he talks about the two years he worked in the Stockton 'snakepit' (the psych ward).

Larry Itliong & the Filipino Agricultural Workers Movement - 2014

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ts3p_8zabck

The significant role of Filipino labor leaders, including Larry Itliong, Pete Velasco and others, has been all but erased from history, including in the Hollywood film " Cesar Chavez". Yet Filipino workers were in fact critically involved in the early development and formation of the United Farm Workers (UFW). This public forum sets the record straight. It took place on July 13, 2014 at the Manilatown Center, the historic site of the International Hotel, in San Francisco, California, as part of LaborFest (www.laborfest.net).

ILWU Local 10 Honors NUMSA Treasurer Mphumzi Maqungo on May Day 2014

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-wQerOE36EQ

Panel discussion with Howard and others, which followed this speech:

South Africa NUMSA Treasurer Mphumzi Maqungo Joins ILWU Local 10 on May Day 2014

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D-1Rs0QjNeU

Mphumzi's speech includes a brief narrative about Howard.

San Francisco Chronicle Interview: Picketlines Past and Present: Israel to South Africa - 2014

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qk9ywbQcid0

Recap of the five-day Port of Oakland blockade of the Israeli ship *Zim Piraeus* through the eyes of a 88 year old retired longshoreman involved in the historic 1984 ILWU strike that sparked the US anti-apartheid movement.

ILWU Rank and File Picket Of Zim Ship Piraeus At Port Of Oakland - 2014

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SZK1hoSkR_c

In a four day labor community picket at the Port of Oakland, ILWU rank and file from Local 10 and Local 34 abided by a picket line against working on the Zim Line ship Piraeus despite the presence of hundreds of police and Alameda County Deputies to force the longshore workers to cross the picket lines. There was a mass rally of 3,000 people on August 16 with a march to the SSA terminals in the port of Oakland. Picketing took place between August 17 through August 20, 2014. This successful solidarity picket against the role of Israel in the bombing and massacres of the people of Gaza, backed by US military and economic aid, was a significant economic blow to the Israel shipping line and, by extension, the Zionist war on Gaza.

Militant Trade Unionism Or Business Unionism In ILWU? - 2015

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kn60eLU31sM

On March 31, 2015 in San Francisco, a forum was held on the the growing attacks on the ILWU and the struggle over the proposed Coast Contract. Participants reported on the

continuing concession contracts at ILWU Local 30 at Rio Tinto in Boron, California, EGT in Longview, Washington and the Northwest grain contract, along with the ramifications for the Coast contract. Panelists also reported on the crossing of picket lines, even including by ILWU affiliates, including ILWU Local 63 clerks in Los Angeles.

50th Anniversary of the Grape Strike: Past Present and Future - 2015

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IceR66sO11U

July 18, 2015 LaborFest event at the Manilatown Center, the historic site of the International Hotel, in San Francisco.

Howard Keylor's 93rd Birthday Tribute - 2018

https://archive.org/details/HowardKeylor93rdBirthdayTribute2018

ILWU Local 10 Howard Keylor Knows Which Side He Is On

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zp3CmtXNqFs

Labor Video Project tribute, played at Howard’s 93rd birthday event

Howard Keylor Memorial Committee

Hillary Chen
Isis Feral
Mary Jane Galviso
Eliot Grossman
Henry Johnson
Nate Landry
Bob Mandel
Tom Riley
Joel Schor
Richard Tan
Sheila Delany
Elazar Friedman
Craig Gordon
Jack Heyman
Chris Knox
Kathy Warren Lewark
Heather Nelson
Gerald Sanders
Carole Seligman
Stan Woods

"Revolutionaries such as fellow worker Keylor pass our way only rarely but leave a mark on our lives that time will never erase."

Bob Carnegie
State Secretary, Maritime Union of Australia, 2015-2019